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Title: Exploring conceptions of disability held by Anishinaabe secondary school students

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Supervisor: Professor Nidhi Singal
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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. The sources of which I have availed myself have been stated in the body of the report and in the citation section.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution.

This report does not exceed 80,000 words in length.

Signature: Date: November 4, 2019

Abstract

Carly Beth Christensen
Title: Exploring the conceptions of disability held by Anishinaabe secondary school students

After a century of using schooling to denigrate Indigenous populations, Canada's Indigenous communities were granted self-governance over schooling in 1982. In the wake of self-governance, special education remains largely unreformed, caused in part by assumed universality. This research therefore explores the conceptions of disability held by Anishinaabe youth within their communities, and school. Under Canada's dual system of schooling, the federal government oversees Indigenous self-governing schools and allocates funding, while provincial governments control settler schooling. The federal system remains largely invisible because of a lack of policies, and exclusion from regional, national, and international assessments. This research occurred in a recently established, Anishinaabe self-governing secondary school that services six Anishinaabe communities. Uniquely positioned to examine disability, the students attending this school had all previously accessed special education provisions in their former provincial schools.

This topic was examined during a 10-month multisite case study in Canada's Sub-Arctic region. As a disabled, white, former teacher, and female researcher, I attempt to become an Anishinaabe-ally, by employing Indigenist methodologies. Centring the voices of the participants was demonstrated by using photovoice projects, Anishinaabe talking circles, and walking interviews. Maintaining three types of research journals, and ensuring participatory collaboration, led to the emergence of walking interviews as a data collection tool. The students expanded the research to include a student-led community powwow, which became a fascinating opportunity for data collection and community involvement. In seeking to contextualise the participants, data collection also includes recorded, semi-structured interviews, and casual conversations with students, teachers, elders, chiefs and family members, are recounted in my research journals.

The role of schooling in Canada's genocide, seems to cause the Anishinaabe self-governing school to be framed by the students, their family members, and elders, as a critical space for healing. In an apartheid-like state that segregates and isolates reserves, my findings highlight the significance of the school as a location for racial interaction in Canada. The school involved in this research became the central location for contact between settlers and Anishinaabe people. Thus, Indigenous self-governing schools seem to be a crucial space for

convergence between settler and Indigenous worldviews. For instance, notions of disability enacted in the school's programming attempted to align with Anishinaabe conceptions. Within my findings, conceptions of disability were intertwined with Anishinaabe spiritual beliefs, most significantly, interrelatedness. This belief caused Anishinaabe participants to conceptualise disability as an imbalance in the "medicine wheel", which frames humans as seeking a balance in mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual aspects of themselves. The students engaged in myriad individual and community spiritual practices, for the purpose of seeking balance at home and at school. Repeatedly, the Anishinaabe participants considered their imbalances to be rooted in settler colonialism. As such, culturally-appropriate school programming for Anishinaabe students, seems to necessitate facilitating Anishinaabe spiritual practices related to healing, and addressing disparities stemming from settler colonialism.

Acknowledgements

To start, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my research participants for their willingness to share pieces of who they are, how they see the world, and who they seek to become. The sharing of one's stories, deemed a sacred act by my Anishinaabe participants, illuminated their vulnerability, courage, and engagement in this research. They expanded and moulded the research process. I am indebted to various Anishinaabe chiefs and elders that advocated for this research and provided invaluable counsel to me. I also appreciate the school administrators for their assistance and problem-solving mindset that made this research possible.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor Nidhi Singal, who encouraged my development as a thinker, researcher, practitioner, and writer. Her careful guidance exposed me to new realms of seeing the world and myself. I also appreciate the generous scholarship awarded to me by the British Association of International and Comparative Education (BAICE) that made completing my fieldwork possible. Thanks to my colleague Jwalin Patel for our frequent inspiring conversations and academic side projects. Our friendship helped me to complete my doctoral programme amid family emergencies and being hospitalised.

Despite the various and sometimes life-threatening, type 1 diabetic complications exasperated by the pace, travel, and stress of my PhD programme, my medical team insisted that my completion was possible. Indeed, without my medical team, I would not have been able to complete this research.

I will forever be thankful for my family for their continuous support, sacrifice, love, financial help, and prayers. A special thanks goes to my dad for reading my seemingly endless drafts!

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List of abbreviations

ADD/ADHD	Attention Deficit Disorder/ Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
BCE	Before the Common Era
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Company
CAD	Canadian dollars
CFS	Child and Family Services
CIHR	Canadian Institutes of Health Research
CLD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
EA	Education assistant
FAS/D	Foetal Alcohol Syndrome/ Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder
ICF	International Classification of Functioning, Disability, and Health
IEP	Individualised Education Plan
INAC	Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
NSERC	Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDT	Southern disability theories
SGT	Seven Grandfather Teachings
2SLGBTQQIA+	Two-Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, and Asexual
SLSS	Sandy Lake Secondary School
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
UNCRPD	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UPIAS	Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation
WHO	World Health Organisation

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Glossary of participants

Young people cases

Young people	Gender	Age	Family members	Relationship
Amelia	Female	18	Kodak	Partner
Jade	Male	16	Blossom	Grandma
Raven	Female	19		
Iris	Female	19	Miigwen	Father
Sage	Female	17	Sam	Cousin
Cedar	Male	15		

Adult participants

Name	Gender	Position
Barbra	Female	Elder
Darryl	Male	Elder
Rowen	Male	Elder
Stewart	Male	Elder
Alice	Female	Elder
Jane	Female	Elder
Craig	Male	Elder
Doug	Male	Elder
Dean	Male	Elder
Darren	Male	Elder SLSS principal
Phyllis	Female	Elder Teacher
Blossom	Female	Elder Jade's grandma
Elsie	Female	Teacher
Nick	Male	Head teacher
Kodack	Male	Amelia's partner
Miigwen	Male	Iris' father
Sam	Female	Sage's cousin

Chapter 1 - Introduction and context

Seeing two unequal worlds

In aligning my research within Indigenist methodologies' call to position myself as an Indigenous-ally, my own story must be established at the beginning of this research (S. Wilson, 2008). I was born, raised, and attended formative schooling in northern Ontario, Canada, in a small settler town, surrounded by 28 self-governing Indigenous communities. Frequently dubbed by the media as the "most racist town in Canada", as a child and adolescent, school was the primary location in which I saw the clash of Anishinaabe and settler worlds. My extended family includes both Anishinaabe and settlers, with an Anishinaabe maternal aunt-in-law and Anishinaabe step-cousins[1] which increased my awareness of Canada's genocide. My hometown previously housed six residential schools, which were exposed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)[2] as notorious sites of sexual abuse, medical testing, and physical brutality. Three of these former residential school buildings remain empty, looming structures within the city limits, and are largely ignored by the settler populace.

By the time I was eight years old, I knew I wanted to be a teacher. Schools seemed to be the only place where settler and Indigenous people interacted. Within the school context, the dire economic and social conditions facing my Anishinaabe classmates were constantly apparent. When I was 12, my babysitter, a 16-year-old Anishinaabe teenager went missing and was later found murdered. She is the first of many Anishinaabe women I knew to be murdered.

During my formative schooling, I saw how settler ideas were presented as superior. Both the primary and high school curriculum lacked Anishinaabe content, and were inflexible to Anishinaabe cultural practices. The wild rice harvest, an event crucial to the economic and spiritual survival of local Anishinaabe communities, was not considered an approved absence.

[1] My aunt-in-law had children within a previous marriage with an Anishinaabe man. As such, my step-cousins are of full Anishinaabe decent.

[2] Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada was formed in 2008 for the purpose of documenting the history and lasting influence of the Canadian Indigenous residential school system. It provided residential school survivors the chance to share their experiences. In 2015, the Commission published a summary of its findings and suggested 95 points of action on the pathway to reconciliation (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015b). Their report concluded that the residential school system was genocide. More recently, the

Unapproved absences had severe academic repercussions for students because of missed assessments and assignments.

I became a secondary school history and special education teacher with the idealistic goal of helping to make the classroom a comfortable learning space for all students. At the age of 21, I secured my first teaching post, in a one-room, secondary school for Indigenous adults transitioning from penitentiaries. As the sole teacher, I was expected to accommodate the needs of all my students. Being diagnosed with type 1 diabetes during this teaching post transformed how I understood disability and special education.

My ability to live with type 1 diabetes was deemed a "miracle" by my Indigenous students. In the Indigenous communities in which I taught, my disability is usually fatal because of limited access to healthcare services, a lack of safe drinking water, perilous living conditions, and perpetual food scarcity. Yet for me, at the end of each school day, I drove 15 kilometres back to the settler world, with access to state-of-the-art medical treatment, clean drinking water, a heated home, and grocery stores. The stark reality of the intersection of race, settler colonialism, and disability, exposed privileges embedded in my understanding of disability and special education. I am not sure if my Indigenous students realised that the "miracle" of my life with type 1 diabetes was down to the fact that I am settler within Canada's racially segregated world. I realised that my special education teacher training ignored cultural diversity, and the impact of settler colonialism on Indigenous peoples.

My realisation of the cultural and contextual-based understandings of disabilities led to my MPhil research, which explored transition planning for Anishinaabe students with disabilities. This research suggested the presence of Anishinaabe perceptions of disability which differed from commonly-held settler notions of disability. My lived experiences as a teacher and research within Anishinaabe communities inspires my doctoral research. My research questions are presented below.

1. What are the perceptions of disability, the purposes of schooling, and the aspirations of Anishinaabe young people with previous experience in formalised special education programmes?
2. How are these young people influenced by the views and perceptions of their family members, teachers, chiefs, and elders concerning disability, the purposes of schooling, and aspirations?
3. How could the perceptions of my respondents inform the development of culturally-responsive educational programming for students, their families, and their communities?

Each of the sections within this chapter is necessary to understanding the school involved in my research, which could be considered a microcosm of the cross-cutting social, cultural, and economic forces sustaining the Canadian apartheid system.

Rationale for this research

Indigenous communities often distrust researchers, arising from both the history of settler-Indigenous relations, and of oppressive research conducted on Indigenous peoples. Ontario, the site of my research, has the largest Indigenous population of all Canada's provinces and remains basically unexamined in research (Statistics Canada, 2011). Research access was granted to me by local Anishinaabe elders and chiefs based on my family's longstanding relationships, my previous work as a teacher, and my own personal lifelong relationships with Anishinaabe communities and schools. This positions me as one of the first researchers within this region since the late 1960s. However, the privilege of exploring new insights concerning disability, comes with an immense ethical responsibility, because this doctoral research could guide future interactions with researchers.

In addition to the lack of research occurring with Anishinaabe peoples, Indigenous students with disabilities are usually absent in research and federal legislation, despite myriad policies attempting to address the inequalities faced by Indigenous peoples in Canada (Phillips, 2010). This renders Indigenous people with disabilities among the most vulnerable within this already marginalised group. In the wake of Indigenous self-governance, the decolonisation of schooling has ensued; however, special education programming has been largely unreformed, remaining as a vestige of settler hegemony (Phillips, 2010a). Consequently, my research seeks to understand Anishinaabe conceptions of disability as an initial step towards the design of culturally-responsive school programming. For example, secondary school special education programming is often based on preparing young people to enter formalised employment and independent housing (UNESCO, 1997). For Indigenous people living in self-governing isolated communities, where the bulk of its members participate in subsistence hunting and gathering, these goals could be considered irrelevant or even assimilationist.

A brief word on terminology

Throughout this dissertation, the term "Indigenous" is employed. This term has been criticised for homogenising the diversity of Indigenous views, knowledges, and social systems (Goulet & Goulet, 2014; Sefa Dei, 2011). However, it is worth noting that the term arose from the National Indian Brotherhood movement of the 1970s, to "frame the experiences, issues and struggles of some of the worlds' colonized [*sic*] peoples" (Snow et al., 2015, p. 359). The wealth of debate concerning homogenisation, neglects the strengths of this term which was self-applied, "in contrast to the imposed notion of 'primitive'" and "'folk'

knowledge", previously used in some Northern research. My use of the term Indigenous "is about a political reclamation and self-definition to challenge Eurocentric dominance" (Sefa Dei, 2011, p. 23). The term Indigenous highlights populations existing within complex socio-political realities of settler domination. However, garnering insights from literature specific to distinct Indigenous communities necessitates caution so as to not homogenise tribal[3] differences or depict Indigenous peoples as monolithic (Ritskes, 2011).

I recognise that Indigenous is a general term. It directly opposes the global ongoing settler colonisation by asserting both the collective rights and the self-governing rights of Indigenous peoples (S. Wilson, 2008). Within this dissertation, to affirm self-determination, the terms used by the participants or authors to refer to types of Indigenous peoples, are maintained and explained within the footnotes. Therefore, in this dissertation, tribal affiliations are referred to whenever these terms have been used by the authors. When the term "Indigenous" is used in this dissertation, I am referring to first peoples at a national or global level.

"Indian" remains the legal term used for Canada's Indigenous people, because of its use in Canada's *Indian Act (1876).* Yet in daily life and in academic literature written by Indigenous scholars, the term "Indian" is perceived as having racist undertones and is not used within this dissertation. Within the *Constitution of Canada Act (1982),* Aboriginal[4] is an umbrella term used to refer to Indigenous peoples which is further classified into three groups including, First Nations[5], Métis[6], and Inuit[7] peoples. The Aboriginal population of Canada is approximately 1.4 million people, accounting for 4.3% of the overall Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2011). [8]

This research specifically involves First Nations people, a distinctly Canadian term. My research participants are members of the Anishinaabe tribe which are known by various

[3] Although some disciplines avoid the use of the term tribe, it is widely used within North America because terms like nation or band have specific government definitions. Tribe can be used to avoid confusion with the term nation that is commonly used to refer to a specific reserve community. It is worth noting, that within Indigenous literature, the self-determination of groups should be upheld meaning that the use of terms like tribe or tribal should be respected when self-applied (Wilson, 2001). In addition, as the pan-Indigenous movement grows in North America, some groups of Indigenous peoples use of the term tribe as a statement of cultural revitalisation (Mccue, 2011).

[4] Aboriginal people are considered to be as, Section 35(2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, states: "In this Act, 'Aboriginal peoples of Canada' includes the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada." Their common link is their indigenous ancestry.

[5] First Nations refers to tribes below the Arctic Circle.

[6] Métis people are descendants of mixed French voyageur and Indigenous ancestry.

[7] Inuit, previously referred to Eskimo, includes the tribes that inhabit Canada's northern territories.

[8] The indigenous concentration of Canada's population ranks second behind New Zealand, whose Indigenous population accounts for 15% of their overall population (Government of Canada & Statistics Canada, 2008, p. 10). However, within the Canadian context, many First Nations people opt out of government enumeration. As such, Canada's Indigenous population is likely higher then these statistics reflect.

names including, Anishinaabeg, Ojibway, Ojibwa, Chippewa, or Saulteaux (T. Smith, 1995). The participants involved in this research preferred to be called Anishinaabe. Figure 1.1, summarises the use of these terms in relation to the people involved in my research.

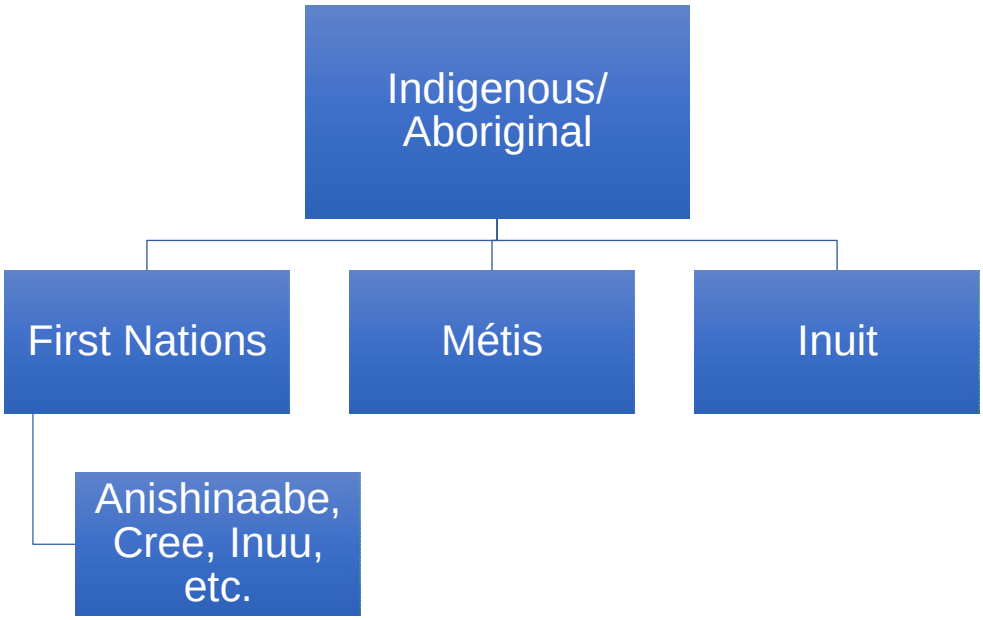

Figure 1.1: First peoples' terminology

Throughout my dissertation, I refer to the North/settler/dominant as adjectives to describe the culture of European-descended people. I also make a distinction between Indigenous bodies of knowledge and those of Northerners/settlers to illuminate moments when Indigenous bodies of knowledges are being negated, and to evaluate areas of convergence (Sefa Dei, 2011). Although this dichotomy is complex, with neither side constituting a homogeneous body, this distinction assists in illuminating the "relatively uncommon" themes of Northern theory that are often present in Southern theories such as "the social significance of the land", "the experiences of dispossession and loss", and "the discontinuities in colonisation" (Connell, 2007, p. 224).

In addition, the Indigenous/settler dichotomy has been criticised for oversimplifying racial dynamics within Canada (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2016; Wolfe, 2006).Yet, the terms settler and Indigenous are employed in my work to forefront the erasure of Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous Canadians who continue to benefit from Indigenous oppression (Regan, 2010). During this dissertation, references to settlers and the North are often used interchangeably because settlers are cumulated within "Northerness" (Connell, 2007). I acknowledge that settlers can strive to become Indigenous-allies, which is also a term used in this document (Woolford, 2015).

Anishinaabe peoples of northern Ontario

My research occurred with the Anishinaabe nation[9] that resides within the Sub-Arctic region of northern Ontario on the Canadian Shield[10] (Tanner, 1996, p. 438). This region of Canada is outlined in Figure 1.2. Although there is fervent disagreement concerning the origin[11] of the Anishinaabe, scholars generally agree that they have inhabited the Canadian Shield region since about 1200 BCE[12] (T. Smith, 1995).

Figure 1.2: Map of research area (Google maps, 2019)

The Anishinaabe peoples were strategically located at the juncture where a major transcontinental waterway splits, flowing north towards Hudson's Bay, and south towards the headwaters of the Mississippi River. As a result, they became involved in various intertribal hostilities, peace-making, and trade reaching across North America (Tanner, 1996). Prior to settler contact, they were never centrally organised with one governing body.

Before forced relocation by settlers, Anishinaabe peoples were semi-nomadic (Daugherty & Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 1986). In the summer months, they navigated a system of 200,000 lakes in birch-bark canoes, gathering wild rice and fish. During the autumn months, maple-sugar tapping and buffalo hunting caused the Anishinaabe to travel

[9] "Nation" refers to a social grouping often of families linked by a common culture, language, and social and economic ties. Often the term tribe is used interchangeably. Refer to footnote 3.

[10] The Canadian Shield is a large region of exposed metamorphic rock that stretches over eight million square kilometres. This area has a very thin layer of top soil, causing cultivation and thus settlement to be sparse. However, the Canadian Shield is rich in minerals, and thus mining is common.

[11] The Anishinaabe usually maintain, like most Indigenous tribes that they are autochthonous, rejecting the notion of migration from Northern Asia, across the Bering Strait (T. Smith, 1995).

[12] BCE means Before the Common Era.

extensively. They used the harsh winters to their advantage, travelling quickly over the frozen waterways (Schrecengost, 1998), and thus able to cover a large area.

As the buffalo herds were decimated by settlers, the Anishinaabe began trapping animals for the Hudson's Bay Company that introduced guns, alcohol, and an exploitative credit system (Schrecengost, 1998). In time, permanent settler communities formed, supported by mining and forestry industries, which made the Anishinaabe's semi-nomadic way of life unsustainable. The Anishinaabe have remained in this region, enduring ongoing settler expansion and persistent environmental damage.

Today, nearly half of the Anishinaabe population in Ontario resides in reserves.

Reserves: Canada's segregation system

This research involved students, elders, chiefs, and family members residing within six Anishinaabe reserves. To understand this complex settler colonial setting, the history and social conditions of reserves must be examined. English settlers, concerned about the western expansion of British North America, drafted the *Royal Proclamation (1763)* which declared that all land west of the Appalachian Mountains fell within Indigenous purview. Accordingly, settler expansion into these regions required treaties with Indigenous people. A settler treaty with the Anishinaabe was crucial to ensuring passage into western Canada. Chief Powassin of the Anishinaabe people, entered into the *North-West Angle Treaty* more commonly called *Treaty 3*[13] with the Crown[14] on October 3, 1873 (Indigenous and Northern Affairs (INAC), 2005). This treaty ceded 14,245,000 hectares of land inhabited by Anishinaabe peoples to the Crown, for settler development including agriculture and mineral discovery (Government of Canada, 2008).

Three years later, the nation-wide *Indian Act (1876)* went on to define First Nations people as wards of the Crown, for whom the state had a responsibility to provide care. This notion of care has been broadly interpreted to mean state prohibition of Indigenous spiritual ceremonies, restricting movement between reserves, and forced residential schooling for First Nations children, which will be further explained later in this chapter. Although a century old, the *Indian Act (1876)* remains largely intact, with minimal amendments, and is integral to the lives of Indigenous peoples. For example, this act controls the legal status, land, resources,

[13] Although treaty numbers (for example, Treaty 3) are normally used to refer to First Nations people, I refer to them by their nation affiliation of Anishinaabe or by their cultural group of First Nation, instead of the government document that appropriated their homeland.

[14] Crown refers to the UK monarch who is the formal head of state in Canada's constitutional monarchy. Currently, Queen Elizabeth II serves as the non-partisan sovereign with vice-regal representatives at the provincial and federal levels of Canada's government.

wills, and local governance of Indigenous peoples. As such, federal government surveillance of, and control over Indigenous peoples in Canada, is mandated within Canadian law.

The *Indian Act* (1876) created reserves on vast tracts of land held by the Crown, and set apart for the use of designated First Nations people only, often within formally agreed treaties (Mccue, 2011). Reserves forced the sedentarisation, relocation, and confinement of Anishinaabe people. The locations for reserves were chosen by the settler government rather than by First Nations people themselves (Kirmayer, Tait, & Simpson, 2009). Often deriving from arbitrary groupings of Indigenous families with no history of living in close proximity, they now had to adjust and develop social structures to exist together. In addition, land selected for reserves was regarded by settlers as uninhabitable or undesirable, therefore, forcing Indigenous peoples into these areas opened up more desirable land for settler agriculture and city-building. Reserves are considered by some groups to be spiritual and physical homelands. However, various First Nations people view being restricted to reserves as arising out of the ongoing occupation and oppression of settlers. Indeed, the sites of most Canadian cities are built on traditional meeting places of Indigenous peoples (Regan, 2010).

Today, nearly half of Canada's First Nations people live in 997 reserves (Statistics Canada, 2011). Within Ontario, there are 205 reserves with 46% of First Nations people residing within their designated reserve (Hele, 2019). Normally, reserves are small, remote, and non-contiguous communities. Ontario has more remote First Nations communities than any other region in Canada, with more than 52 of these communities accessible only by air year-round (Statistics Canada, 2011). On a reserve, land is not owned by the First Nations people but is instead the legal property of the Crown, who holds the right to determine how reserve lands are used. Currently, the organisation known as Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)[15] represents the Crown in overseeing the governance of reserves. The *Indian Act (1876)* explicitly outlined the governance model for each reserve, with one elected chief and a councillor for every 100 people. These elected officials form a tribal band council[16] that oversees all municipal functioning. Prior to settler contact, Anishinaabe peoples had a regional hereditary chief who sought to maintain peace amongst the families. Mandating this electoral method was an attempt to assimilate First Nations people by streamlining their electoral processes. In First Nations communities today, the chief and elected band council receive annual funding from INAC. Yet despite population growth and inflation, a lack of

[15] Previously called the ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (AAND) and the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA).

[16] Tribal band council is commonly referred to as a band council, which is the term used in the remainder of this dissertation.

increase in this funding has led to inadequate social services and infrastructure in reserves. Indeed, funding allocated by INAC, is criticised on an international level for underfunding band councils (Anaya, 2014).

Reserves exist within complex and varied patterns of inequality with regard to poverty, nutrition, access to clean water, health, and education access (Auditor General of Canada, 2011). As part of self-governance, reserves have the right to opt out of any form of government enumeration such as the national census (Statistics Canada, 2009), and thus statistical information, especially within the reserves in this research, is sparse. Living conditions within reserves present the most alarming conditions of deprivation in Canada. The forcible relocation of First Nations peoples onto reserves led to nutritional challenges resulting from the loss of traditional hunting and the high costs of importing food (Statistics Canada, 2009). In addition, settler pollution has caused water in three quarters of reserves to be deemed unsuitable for drinking or washing (Health Canada, 2018). Homes located on reserves are 90% more likely to be without plumbing than settler homes. Widespread housing shortages have led to overcrowding, with about 44% of the existing housing within reserves in need of immediate repairs like the removal of toxic mould and the installation of plumbing (Anaya, 2014a).

Economic development is nearly non-existent within many reserves. As such, most reserve commerce is limited to a petrol station that also sells tobacco products and some food items.[17] Remoteness is exacerbated by the lack of transportation links, which results in limited economic opportunities within reserves. In addition, the Crown maintains ownership over mineral deposits and strictly regulates commercial fishing and hunting. Within the overall Canadian population, unemployment sits at 7%, yet within reserves, the unemployment rate is estimated to be 31.7% (Health Canada, 2018). Migration into urban, settler centres for economic opportunities is difficult because many First Nations people lack previous employment experience. Reserves demarcate Canada, and create two contrasting socio-economic systems.

First Nations people living in reserves appear to contend with higher rates of health issues than the settler population. For instance, compared to their settler counterparts, First Nations people living in reserves have a six to seven times higher rate of tuberculosis; three to four times higher rate of diabetes; and a three times higher rate of heart disease (Health Canada, 2018). Health experts believe that reserves have a higher prevalence of anxiety;

[17] Often the chief and band council allocates food and water per household. Goods purchased at the petrol station are considered luxury items at the expense of individuals. This means that reserves rarely, if ever, have cafes, restaurants, retail stores, or hotels.

mood disorders; learning disabilities; Attention Deficit Disorder/ Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder[18] (ADD/ADHD); Foetal Alcohol Syndrome/ Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder[19] (FAS/D); and speech & language disorders in children and youth, than for Canada as a whole (Health Canada, 2018).

Within reserves, social issues are also common. In a survey of First Nations adults living within reserves, several social problems were highlighted. 39% of residents reported family violence, 25% experienced sexual abuse, and 15% reported rape (Health Canada, 2002). Although Indigenous peoples account for approximately 4% of Canada's population, they account for 18.5% of the federal prison population. The incarceration rate of Indigenous adults is five to six times higher than the national average (Kirmayer, Tait, et al., 2009). In addition, First Nations children are placed in foster care at a rate eight times higher than that for settler children (Anaya, 2014a), which usually results in children moving to settler towns. These health and social issues seem to be predictors of elevated rates of mental health issues within reserves. For instance, age-standardised suicide rates for First Nations youth living in reserves is three to six times higher than the national average (Anaya, 2014b).

The levels of inequity experienced in reserves remains largely unaddressed or ignored by settlers. Many reserves opt out of data collection, and thus national and international statistics exclude the persistent economic and social oppression facing Indigenous peoples (Tauli-Corpuz, 2014). Until the mid-1990s, racial segregation was explicitly enforced via several federal laws that prevented First Nations people from residing in settler towns. These policies entrenched the notion that Indigenous culture and people were incompatible with urban living (Kirmayer, Tait, et al., 2009). The recent influx of First Nations people into settler towns seems to have increased settler awareness of the stark inequalities facing First Nations peoples (Regan, 2010). This has generated some media and legislative attention. However, First Nations' migration to urban, settler centres is often viewed by settlers as impoverishing cities because of increased access to city and provincial social services, thus providing another trope with which to oppose this migration (Kirmayer, Tait, et al., 2009). A report published by the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) concerning Canada, found no decrease in the socioeconomic gap between First Nations and settler populations (Anaya, 2014a, p. 7). Indeed, in 2004, Canada ranked eight on the UN Human Development

[18] Attention Deficit Disorder/Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder (ADD/ADHD) is a spectrum neurodevelopmental disorder. Children and adults with ADD/ADHD may have difficulty paying attention, controlling impulsive behaviours, or be overly active.

[19] Foetal Alcohol Syndrome/ Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder Foetal alcohol spectrum disorders (FAS/FASD) are a group of conditions that can occur in a person a person whose mother drank alcohol during pregnancy. These effects have long-term impacts including physical differences, behavioural challenges, and learning issues.

Index that measures socioeconomic indictors associated with quality of life. However, if this was adjusted to include Canada's Indigenous people, it is estimated that the ranking would drop to 48 (Stavenhagen, 2004, p. 10).

Schooling for Indigenous children and youth reveals different systems brought about by segregation, which is examined next.

Brief history of Indigenous schooling

It would be Eurocentric to assume that educating Anishinaabe children and youth began with the arrival of colonisers (Goulet & Goulet, 2014). In fact, the Anishinaabe people had an educational system in which the elders taught traditions to younger community members through the children mimicking the adults, engaged in the same tasks (Johnston, 1976; Woolford, 2015). Rites of passage like quests[20] or hunts formed part of this education of young community members.

After the Confederation of Canada in 1876, Prime Minister Macdonald believed that residential schooling was the best way of "advancing the Indians in civilization" (Paquette & Fallon, 2010, p. 7). Beginning in 1867, the law required that First Nations children be forcibly removed from reserves to attend settler-run residential schools, with the distinct purpose of furthering the annihilation of Indigenous peoples (Battiste & Barman, 1995). Many of these schools were administered by Anglican, Catholic, Mennonite, and United churches, which made Christian values central to the curricula (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015a). The residential schools prohibited Indigenous dress, religion, and languages (Brady, 1995; UNESCO, 2010). The history of residential schooling is complex, spanning more than a century, with regional variations in curricula, practices, and administration. Between the years of 1867-1996, over 150,000 Indigenous children were sent to residential schools across Canada (Woolford, 2015).

While residing in these schools, many students suffered abuse including: physical punishment that involved caning, whipping, and burning; sexual abuse including rape; inadequate food and poor nutrition; forced labour; and emotional abuse, such as public humiliation and the denial of emotional support (Waldram, 2004; White & Peters, 2009). The perpetrators of these abuses were usually teachers, priests, nuns, and lay staff. Child neglect was further institutionalised by a lack of adult supervision that allowed fellow students to

[20] Quest is also referred to as a vision quest that usually occurs at the onset of adolescence. Often the young person journeys alone into the forest to contemplate and fast until they are inspired concerning their future role in their community.

abuse each other (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015b). Overcrowding, poor sanitation, malnutrition, forced labour, and a failure to adhere to fire safety regulations caused high rates of disease and mortality (Brady, 1995). Infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, whooping cough, influenza, and pneumonia ravaged the overcrowded schools often resulting in disabilities or death (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015a).

In northern Ontario, the region of this research, there were six residential schools with notorious histories of abuse. For instance, three of these residential schools participated in a 30-year, Crown-sanctioned experiment, that tested the effectiveness of vitamins by keeping students in a state of near starvation (Mosby, 2013; Porter, 2015). These biomedical experiments frequently caused long-term health issues and disabilities (Porter, 2013).

By the 1990s, former students had begun speaking out about the abuses they suffered in residential school and legal proceedings followed. The last residential school formally closed in 1997 (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015b). Within my research region, the last residential school closed in 1990, meaning many of the adult participants in this research are residential school survivors. Various ecclesiastical leaders and institutions have issued formal apologies for their involvement in residential schooling. In 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued an apology for the sexual and physical abuse that occurred in residential schools but failed to reject the assimilationist purposes underpinning the entire residential schooling programme (Niezen, 2014). As such, many Indigenous leaders criticise this apology for failing to condemn the entire residential school system as wrong and harmful (Woolford, 2015).

In 1972, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN)[21] published a policy paper called "Indian Control of Indian Education," demanding First Nations' governance over schooling. This paper was significant in the battle to close residential schools. The federal government's enactment of the *Aboriginal Self-Government Policy (1973)* initiated First Nations self-governance of some internal community functions (Peters & White, 2009). The *Constitution Act (1982)* standardised Indigenous self-governance over their people, land, and resources. Self-governance, particularly concerning schooling, was further affirmed in 2007, when the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues proposed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) under *Article 14*, declaring that Indigenous peoples have the right to control education systems in their own languages and in a "manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning" (United Nations,

[21] The Assembly of First Nations was originally called the Nation of Indian Brotherhood. It is a self-formed political group where tribal band councils across Canada are represented by their chief.

2011). By 2016, Canada, along with other settler countries signed the UNDRIP agreement, and its implementation continues today. Accordingly, each reserve now has the right to oversee schooling systems involving their children, and as such, there is a fair amount of diversity between the schooling provided in reserves across Canada.

Although band councils have self-governance of schooling on reserves, change is slow and remnants of the previous assimilation-based education policies remain. Federal schools in Canada operate within a diverse and fragmented system. In 2006, there were approximately 72,260 school-aged First Nations students attending schools on reserves (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

In the following section, we explore the convoluted levels of jurisdiction embedded in federal schools, the situation of First Nations students with disabilities, and their existence within this system.

Students with disabilities in federal schools: A "non-system"

Canada operates both provincial and federal systems of education. Within settler communities, provincial governments oversee schooling. In Ontario, the *Education Act* (Ontario Government, 1980) classifies special education as encompassing five categories of additional needs that are: behavioural, communication, intellectual, physical, and multiple needs. Accessing special education is deemed to be a continual process that can change throughout one's schooling. This provision-based conception of special education also allows students to access special education support without being formally diagnosed by a professional. This is because their remote, rural location makes professional access difficult, especially within the region of this research. Within this context, special educational needs and disability are often used interchangeably. For instance, the Ontario Human Rights Commission considers special education as "providing accessible education for students with disabilities" (2018, p. 1). The distinction between a student with a disability and a student with a special educational need does not seem to exist. Often, within the professional setting, special education documents are used within the medical setting (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2017), and special educational needs and disability are often used interchangeably both within the professional realm and everyday life. This interchangeability of terms within the research context, has led to my research, which seeks to explore Anishinaabe conceptions of disabilities, through the perspectives of young Anishinaabe people who had previously accessed special education within settler provincial schools.

However, the aforementioned provincial legislation concerning special education does not apply to reserve schools (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2002; Phillips, 2010a). As specified within the *Constitution Act (1982),* First Nations' self-governance means that reserves govern schooling, though they are dependent on federal funding. At the moment, there are 518 federal schools servicing about 120,000 First Nations students (Phillips, 2014). The lack of federal special education policies allows reserves to implement culturally appropriate programmes, which most have yet to do (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2002). The funding for special education is allocated using an "intervention-based approach", which relies on mainstream teachers to determine necessary provisions, based on Ontario's five categories of student needs (INAC, 2011, p. 3). The interchangeability between disability terminology and that of special education appears to increase within this setting, with legal and medical professionals often using special education documents within other contexts (Aboriginal Education Office, 2007). The Chiefs of Ontario (2018), an advocacy forum that provides guidance concerning reserve governance like schooling provided guidance suggesting that mental health, chronic illness, medical issues, addiction, and additional categories applicable to each reserve, should be included within special education provisions.

With the dissolution of residential schools, almost no support was provided to band councils for the delivery of schooling in reserves (National Panel on First Nations Education, 2014). The hope has been that by not imposing provincial special education law, reserves will independently design and implement culturally appropriate programmes (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2002). However, after personally contacting the 31 Anishinaabe communities in northern Ontario, I found only one school that had implemented their own, locally-developed special education programming. This school, described in greater detail later in the chapter, became the locale for my doctoral research. In seeking to explore Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, this school provided an unprecedented example of Anishinaabe band councils asserting self-governance, by providing culturally-relevant special education.

Reserves are called upon to "build a community special education policy", that responds to the "specifics of the community" (Chiefs of Ontario, 2018, p. 30). A national panel on First Nations education (2014) reported that the federal education system was a "non-system" because there is no clear formalised policy, a lack of funding, and an absence of data collection (p.10). These three themes will be explored in detail below.

Lack of policy

This “non-system” of Indigenous-controlled schooling has been repeatedly chastised for neglecting students with disabilities. In 1995, the House of Commons’ subcommittee on Indigenous education heard the testimonies of Indigenous leaders, teachers, parents, and students, and concluded that Indigenous-controlled schools lacked special education programming (as cited in Phillips, 2014). Likewise, the Auditor General’s (2000) report concluded that the federal government was not adequately providing schooling for Indigenous students with disabilities. This was followed by the Assembly of First Nations’ (AFN) report in 2014, concerning special education programmes and services in federal schools, concluding that they lacked “any meaningful or functional special needs system to support the quick assessment and diagnosis of special needs and to provide effective supports for children with special needs, including the requirement of an individual learning plan, consistent resources, or therapeutic supports” (p.16). Recently, a report by the Chiefs of Ontario (2017) found inadequate special education services in Indigenous-controlled schools to be a human rights violation, when compared to provincial school special education programming in settler communities.

Shockingly, the absence of special education either caused Indigenous students with disabilities to stop attending school, to move to a settler town to attend a provincial school, or to commute daily to a nearby provincial school (Chiefs of Ontario, 2017; National Panel on First Nations Education, 2014; Phillips, 2014; Tauli-Corpuz, 2016). Although there is a lack of data, the UN Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples believes anecdotal evidence suggests that a disproportionately high number of First Nations students with disabilities are out of school because of a lack of services within their communities (Tauli-Corpuz, 2014). Attending a provincial school to access special education services violates the right of Indigenous peoples to access schooling which aligns with their cultural, linguistic, and spiritual beliefs (Tauli-Corpuz, 2016).

Funding Issues

Persistent funding issues plague First Nation schools with presumably devastating implications for special education programming. The funding for special education is allocated using an “intervention-based approach”, which relies on mainstream teachers to determine necessary provisions, based on five categories of student needs (INAC, 2011, p. 3), including behavioural, communication, intellectual, physical, and multiple needs (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2017). INAC’s underfunding means that teacher pay is lower in federal schools than provincial schools. This makes it challenging to attract qualified teachers, and especially those trained in special education provision. Specialists like educational

psychologists, speech-language pathologists, and physical therapists are rare in federal schools because of the expense and remote locations (Chiefs of Ontario, 2018). First Nations communities have repeatedly petitioned for additional special education funding, and have repeatedly been denied by INAC (Phillips, 2014). On average, provincial funding allocates approximately CAD $3,161.26 (Canadian dollars) per student accessing special education, whereas federal funding allocates approximately CAD $200 per student accessing special education (Phillips, 2010b). Recent estimates suggest that INAC would need to increase their special education funding by fifteen times, to match the provincial level of special education funding (Chiefs of Ontario, 2017).

Absence of data

Non-existent data collection also hampers the provision of special education in First Nations schools. For example, even if a band council wanted to participate in data collection, federal schools are not permitted by the federal government to participate in national or international assessments (Chiefs of Ontario, 2017). For example, a survey titled Statistics Canada Youth in Transition (Statistics Canada, 2011), failed to involve First Nations communities and schools.

Federal schools do not participate in international assessments conducted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). INAC also does not conduct internal assessments, or have a centralised student tracking system, making the evaluation and monitoring of students in federal schools impossible (National Panel on First Nations Education, 2014). INAC publishes the national annual allocation for special education in First Nations schools; however, without additional information like the locations of students, types of disabilities, and services available, this information is unusable. Various reports authored by First Nations bodies suggest a high percentage of students are accessing special education in federal schools (Chiefs of Ontario, 2017, 2019; National Panel on First Nations Education, 2014). A human rights observer for Canada stated that Indigenous children were three times more likely than the general settler population to be physically disabled and were 15%-38% more likely to have FAS/D (Commission on human rights, 2000, p. 9). The only survey assessing health in First Nations communities asserted that the prevalence of disability is higher than in the settler population (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2005, p. 182).

My review of the literature in the next chapter, and the inequalities within the federal education system already explained, upsets the popular image of Canada as a peace-making state, which is examined next.

Federal schooling and genocide

Framing residential schooling as a state-sanctioned genocide has gradually become more mainstream in academia and Canadian media (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014; Brave Heart, 2003; Woolford, 2015). Canada's genocide of Indigenous peoples was enacted by colonial institutions such as residential schooling. Yet, genocide had begun to be applied to the current injustices facing Canada's Indigenous peoples. For example, Prime Minister J. Trudeau commissioned a National Inquiry (2019) that published a report titled "*Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*" (2019)[22] which sought to understand this crisis. Significantly, this national inquiry concludes that "Canada's past and current colonial policies, actions and inactions towards Indigenous peoples is genocide" (National Inquiry, 2019, p. 26). Within this inquiry, genocide was framed to extend beyond a state implementing a "uniform national policy spearheaded by a totalitarian mastermind" to include Canada's ongoing genocide that is "colonial", "insidious", "gradual", and targeted at "obliterating" Indigenous people (National Inquiry, 2019, p. 11). Thus, genocide is not isolated to a single event that is easily quantifiable.

Although not the primary focus of this national inquiry, historical and contemporary Indigenous educational inequalities were included within this report, highlighting that schooling was considered part of the settler apparatus engaged in genocide. For instance, one could argue that the contemporary federal education system perpetuates settler oppression through a lack of funding, policies, and data collection. In addition, there is INAC's failure to respond to numerous recommendations aimed at educational equity and reconciliation in federal schooling (Niezen, 2014; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2012, 2015a).

Within Canada's system of settler dominance, federal schooling becomes the main site of Indigenous-settler interaction in the daily lives of First Nations children and youth. Denying or minimising the horrors and lasting impacts of residential schooling and other oppressive institutions makes addressing Indigenous educational issues difficult.

[22] Missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls refers to a human rights crisis that has recently gained media attention. Most Indigenous women's groups agree that more than, 4,000-15,000 Indigenous women have been murdered or went missing since the 1960s (Niezen, 2014; Nation Inquiry, 2019). Often described as a hidden crisis, there are disproportionate rates for the victimisation of Indigenous women and girls in Canada. Fervent disagreement concerning the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls is due in part to the lack of a national database.

In rebuttal to claims of a genocide, some settlers latch on to Canada's image as an altruistic and peacekeeping country, thereby denying historical realities and minimising settler culpability for the ongoing injustices plaguing Indigenous peoples. Yet, persistent settler attitudes of ignorance or apathy regarding the genocide facing Indigenous peoples, reveals the success of ongoing settler oppression (Veracini, 2016).

School context: Sandy Lake Secondary School (SLSS)

This research was conducted in a federal school called Sandy Lake Secondary School (SLSS).[23] Previously, the lack of resources from INAC to fund schooling caused the six Anishinaabe communities involved with this research, to relinquish governance over schooling within their communities. This meant their primary and secondary school students were bused into the nearby settler town of Riverside[24] to attend provincial schools. However, the retention and secondary school completion rates of Anishinaabe students were low, causing parents and community members to urge local chiefs to reclaim self-governance over schooling. In 2011, the grand council, comprising six neighbouring reserves, formed SLSS as an Anishinaabe-controlled school under INAC's oversight. In Canada, this is the first time a group of chiefs and communities have formed a school together. The formation of SLSS is discussed in greater detail within chapter 6. Riverside is situated between these six Anishinaabe communities, making the commute reasonable for the students. Notably, it is one mile from the site of what had been the largest residential school in the region.

The six reserves that formed SLSS exist in starkly different conditions from Riverside. Once outside Riverside's boundaries, the paved roads turn to dirt tracks leading to each of these reserves. None of the six reserves has safe drinking water as a result of contaminations from settler forestry industries. This lack of running water proves challenging during the winter because freezing temperatures make water hauling difficult. The local band councils allocate drinking water to each household, which is transported in plastic containers. While all six reserves have consistent electricity, wood fires are the sole source of heat during seven months of sub-Arctic temperatures, and hypothermia is a constant worry. Reserve residents

[23] This is a pseudonym for the school involved in my research. At the request of the students involved in my pilot study, the school decided to remain unnamed, to help maintain anonymity for the students. As such, all the names of places and people in this dissertation are pseudonyms. Anonymity is discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.

[24] This is a pseudonym for the settler town where SLSS is located.

are also expected to cut their own wood. Although Riverside has various Internet providers just a few miles away, these reserves have no internet access.

In Canada, Indigenous self-governance considers each First Nations community to be a nation state. Collaboration between First Nations communities in exercising self-governance rights is radical[25] and has resulted in ongoing jurisdictional disputes, causing SLSS to be an unprecedented interpretation of self-governance over Indigenous education. As such, SLSS has been embroiled in funding disputes with INAC and neighbouring provincial schools. The Anishinaabe communities now lobby for funding from alternative sources, in an expression of resiliency and resistance, which has underpinned their survival in this region. Against the odds, SLSS continues to operate today.

During this fieldwork, SLSS consisted of 40 female and male students ranging in age from 14-20 years old, and separated into two classrooms. SLSS is a new school, meaning that all of their secondary school students had previously attended provincial schools within the settler town of Riverside. Within the past two years, all 40 of these students accessed special education programming in those provincial secondary schools. Six of these students (hereafter known as the young people) became the case study participants for my research, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Having previously been classified as having special educational needs within the provincial school setting, they had some insights and experience in relation to the concept of disability. At SLSS, however, instead of formally diagnosing students as having disabilities or special educational needs, the school provides individualised education programmes, tailored to meet each student's needs. Thus, SLSS is ideal for exploring Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, because of this school's unprecedented attempt to decolonise by implementing their own special education curricula.

The principal of the school is an Anishinaabe elder, and most of the support staff are Anishinaabe community members. An elder is present at the school every day to counsel students and perform ceremonies. Criteria for enrolment at SLSS include self-identification as a First Nations person; and residence within one of the six communities that formed the school. Instead of teaching formal classes, SLSS uses independent courses, with a teacher present for one-on-one assistance. The school employs three certified teachers[26], one of whom is Anishinaabe. Internet access, headphones, and iPads are available to each student.[27] The

[25] Individual reserves have the formal right to self-governance over schooling of youth and children from their community. SLSS's collaboration between six reserves is a radical and unprecedented interpretation of Indigenous self-governance.

[26] Certified teachers in Canada must complete a bachelor's degree, teachers college, and a student teaching placement.

[27] The federal government funds First Nations students attending First Nations operated school, whereas, provincial governments fund students in provincial schools. Currently, the federal government provides

school also has a gymnasium and a kitchen, and a large wooded area for outdoor activity. [28] Within the same building, there is an Anishinaabe language immersion primary school. This school is run by a different principal and staff of teachers. However, SLSS students share the use of the facility.

Structure of this dissertation

This dissertation begins by introducing my research questions and contextualising my unique settler colonial research site. The following chapter presents a literature review exploring the applicability of southern disability theories (SDT) to my research, and examines the influence of differing views of disability within the special education school setting. In chapter 3, the research design is outlined. While chapter 4 explores the young peoples' relationships within the Seven Grandfather Teachings (SGT). Chapter 5 examines the conceptions of disability held by the young people, their family members, and elders. Chapter 6 explores the ideas that the young people, their family members, teachers, and elders have about the purposes of Anishinaabe schooling. This is followed by chapter 7, which evaluates and connects the findings of the three preceding chapters. I conclude, in chapter 8, by directly responding to my research questions. In evaluating research question three, I examine possible implications and recommendations for developing culturally-responsive school programming at the international, federal, reserve, and school levels. Lastly, the limitations and potential contributions of this research are outlined. These implications and recommendations have far-reaching impacts for the decolonisation of schooling and call for deeper nuance in understanding ongoing settler privilege in Canada.

less funding for schooling (per student) than the provincial government (Macdonald & Wilson, 2013). Consequently, First Nations schools often have poor physical facilities and lack technology. SLSS supplements federal funding with private grants.

[28] Each year SLSS plans to expand their programme each year. There are many empty classrooms, but within five years, they hope to have classes from kindergarten to Grade 12.

Chapter 2 - Weaving together my research intersections

Introduction

Postcolonial theorist Said (1978), Southern theorist Connell (2007), and Māori[29] theorist L.T. Smith (1999) each explicitly note that power relations are inherent to knowledge and knowledge generation. Knowledge from the global North often possess a hegemonic position (Connell, 2007) via the normalisation of these ideas, values, and beliefs (Battiste, 2013). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) note the "pressing need to decolonize [*sic*] and deconstruct" Northern academia which "privileges Western knowledge systems and epistemologies" (p.6). Yet, creating space within the academy to explore "Indigenous knowledges constitutes a political act" (Sefa Dei, 2011, p. 24). Therefore, this chapter itself could be considered a political statement. I sought to locate the intersection of disability, Indigeneity, and settler colonialism within the literature. This involved an extended and thorough reading across various disciplines and topics. For instance, my research topic involved surveying literature concerning areas like Southern theory, settler colonialism, dominant disability theories, Indigenous spirituality, Indigenous political theory, Indigenous educational theory, and special educational research involving culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students.

Delving into Southern[30] literature helped exemplify and expose similar patterns of oppression facing Anishinaabe peoples. However, I had to probe into Indigenous literature and the works of Indigenous scholars to gain a grasp of the types of ontologies and epistemologies commonly present in Indigenous worldviews. This allowed me to consider the continuities and incongruencies of Southern disability theories (SDT) within my research context and illustrated the complexity of locating the field within the largely unexplored intersections of Indigeneity, disability, settler colonialism, and schooling. Engaging in this comprehensive reading influenced the development of my research processes and challenged my positionality as a non-Indigenous Canadian. Immersing myself in Indigenous scholars'

[29] Māori refers to Indigenous peoples living in present-day New Zealand.

[30] Southern refers to the term global South. The term global South is part of a family of terms including underdeveloped, Third World, and Least Economically Developed Countries (LEDC's) (Dados & Connell, 2012; Meekosha, 2011). However, within this family, the term global South is unique because the focus shifts from development to patterns of inequality.

work concerning settler privilege involved self-reflection concerning implicit ways I oppress Indigenous people. Thus, writing this chapter was indeed a political act on various levels. This chapter demonstrates that disability studies and special educational research should be decolonised. SDT appears to provide a much more relevant understanding of disability within the Anishinaabe reserve context than Northern disability discourse.

This chapter begins by defining the scope of this literature review. The North's theories of disability are then reviewed, for the purpose of understanding the emergence of SDT. The applicability of SDT to my research is explained in correspondence with overviewing differing conceptions of disability held by Indigenous peoples. SDT considers the influence of colonisation in seeking deeply contextualised understandings of disability (Ghai, 2012). This seems particularly substantial within my research context where settler colonisation could be considered as generating and constructing disabilities. Indigenous spiritual beliefs and disability are considered. The influence of differing views of disability on special education programming is then examined within the categories of: disproportionate representation in special education; school professionals with deficit views of Indigenous families; cultural hegemony within curriculum and practices; monolithic views of identity; and the lack of basic services within Indigenous communities.

Scope

In writing this literature review, I sought to become a "knowledge broker" that collects information and "produces meaning which can be used for… indigenous [*sic*] interests" (Cram, Ormond, & Carter, 2006, p. 177). In seeking to decolonise the academy and attempting to be an Anishinaabe-ally researcher, this review privileges the knowledge and voices of Indigenous peoples (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), by centring Indigenous scholars and research involving Indigenous peoples. While this chapter mainly reviews literature from the 1990's to the present, Joe's (1982) research is included as a founding work concerning Native American[31] culture and disability. Additionally, Johnston (1967), an Ojibway[32] academic is included because of his seminal documentation of Ojibway culture.

[31] Native American is the term used in the United States to describe Indigenous peoples. Some of the Native American tribes in the United States have the same tribal heritage as Indigenous people in Canada.

[32] Within Johnston's works he refers to his own heritage as Ojibway. Ojibway or Chippewa are a tribal group that spans the Great Lakes regions, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and North and South Dakota. The tribal names Ojibway and Chippewa are most commonly used within the United States. Historically, this is considered the American branch of the Anishinaabe peoples.

The literature reviewed derives predominantly from peer-reviewed journals that engage with Indigenous peoples in the settler states of Canada,[33] the United States,[34] Australia,[35] and New Zealand.[36] Literature examined also includes Canadian federal education documents, Statistics Canada data, publications by self-governing Indigenous organisations, and UN documents pertaining to Indigenous peoples.

In exploring Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, a multidisciplinary approach was necessary, because disability studies and special education often lack engagement with minority groups (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994; Hollinsworth, 2013). Information pertinent to Anishinaabe understandings of disability were often found in research, but not explicitly within the field of disability studies. As such, this review draws on literature from various fields that often include notions, ideas, and beliefs relevant to Indigenous views of disability. The fields consulted within this review include public health, social work, medical anthropology, psychology, community wellness, women's health, youth substance addiction, Indigenous education, special education, disability studies, and counselling. Indigenous scholars also warn of homogenising Indigeneity with immigrants and refugees because the choices faced by these minority groups are not analogous with the Indigenous experience (Battiste, 2013; Battiste & Barman, 1995). As such, research concerning minority groups was consulted with caution.

The process of accessing this literature was tedious because database, subject area searches and keyword searches, were largely irrelevant. Indeed, the body of literature reviewed was frequently inaccessible within the university's collections, requiring myself to travel to libraries in the United States (North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota) and Manitoba, Canada, all of which house vibrant collections of Indigenous works.

Northern models of disability

Reviewing theories of disability from the North within this research could be criticised by Indigenous scholars for considering Southern knowledge only in correspondence with Northern ways of knowing (Connell, 2007). This could insinuate that the North's theories

[33] (Anderson, 2011; Battiste, 1998, 2013; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Hart, 2002; Johnston, 1976, 1982; McCormick, 2009; Paquette & Fallon, 2010; Phillips, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2014; Ross, 2014; Stienstra, 2015, 2018; Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010; Stienstra, Baikie, & Manning, 2018; S. Wilson, 2003, 2008).

[34] Cajete, 2000; Deloria, 1994; Duran, 2006; Duran, Heart, & Horse-Davis, 1998; Harry, 1992, 2008; Harry, Allen, & McLaughlin, 1995; Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994; Harry & Klingner, 2014; Harry, Rueda, & Kalyanpur, 1999; Hartmann & Gone, 2014; Joe, 1982, 1997; Kalyanpur, 1998; Kalyanpur & Harry, 2009; Keltner, Crowell, & Taylor, 2005; Vraniak, 1997; Woolford, 2015.

[35] Ariotti, 1999; Connell, 2007, 2011; Hollinsworth, 2013; Jakubowicz & Meekosha, 2002; J. A. King, Brough, & Knox, 2014; Meekosha, 2004, 2006; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009; Nakata, 2007; Nelson, 2007; Senior, 2000; Soldatic, 2015.

[36] Bevan-Brown, 2004; Hynds, Faircloth, Green, & Jacob, 2014; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2005b, 2005a.

represent “something ‘better’” or reflect “higher orders of thinking” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 48). However, this section provides an overview of Northern disability theory because, as some argue, as part of colonisation, these theories were imposed upon Indigenous communities for over a century (Hollinsworth, 2013; Soldatic & Gilroy, 2018). Thus, in seeking to understand contemporary Anishinaabe understandings of disability, a brief overview of Northern theories could be useful in understanding the development of SDT in reaction to these Northern theories. The North’s medical, social, and biopsychosocial models of disability are examined below.

Often referred to as the individual model, the medical model reasons that individual disabilities are physically, psychologically, or biologically derived (Gabel & Peters, 2004; Riddell, 2007). As a result, special education programmes with medical categories emerged which disregarded social norms and values, and concentrated on medical diagnoses (Norwich, 2007). The medical model is criticised for viewing disability as a personal tragedy and excluding disabilities without a physical/biological explanation.

The UK disability movement of the 1970’s, marshalled by the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS), considered disability to be not an impairment or bodily deficiency, but the relationship between people with impairments and a discriminatory society. This model of disability, referred to as the social model, became a tool for activists and organisations in North America and Europe protesting issues like labour exclusion and residential institutionalisation. The social model focusses on the socio-political creation of disability because of “social arrangements that work to restrict the activities of people with impairments through the erection of social barriers” (Thomas, 2002, p. 40). This model considers that physical, sensory, intellectual, or psychological differences may cause impairments, but believes these do not lead to disability unless society fails to adjust. Framing disability in this manner pinpoints political action like the removal of barriers, citizenship rights, and anti-discrimination legislation for people with disabilities (Shakespeare, 2004). The social model enabled people to focus instead on societal discrimination.

However, the social model attracts several criticisms, particularly for neglecting that even when social barriers are removed, some disabilities remain (Crow, 1996). For example, a person with a recent spinal injury requires both medical intervention and modifications to their environment (Shakespeare, 1994). As such, the split between impairments and disabilities could be deemed untenable, because frequently, impairments play some role in causing disabilities (Shakespeare & Watson, 2001). In addition, this model theoretically replicates the Cartesian dualism of the body/mind found in the medical model (Thomas, 2004) that may not be relevant cross-culturally (Hughes & Paterson, 1997).

Since “biology and society are intertwined in a dialectical relationship” rather than a dichotomy (Imrie, 2004, p. 288) the biopsychosocial model of disability was developed, which shifts “the focus from causes and medical classification to impacts and functioning” (Norwich, 2007, p. 63). The World Health Organization’s (WHO) *International Classification for Functioning, Disability and Health* (ICF) (2001) has attempted to implement the biopsychosocial model, by framing disability as a continuum of health, and thus considers disability to be a universal human experience (Barnes & Mercer, 2011). Within the ICF, depicted in Figure 2.1, interactions with society are examined within the categories of health condition, body functions and structures, activity, participation, environmental factors, personal factors, and general health (Simeonsson, 2003, 2009; WHO, 2001). The ICF framework assumes that disability is a “natural experience of living” that should not be considered an individual deficit (Lollar & Simeonsson, 2005, p. 324).

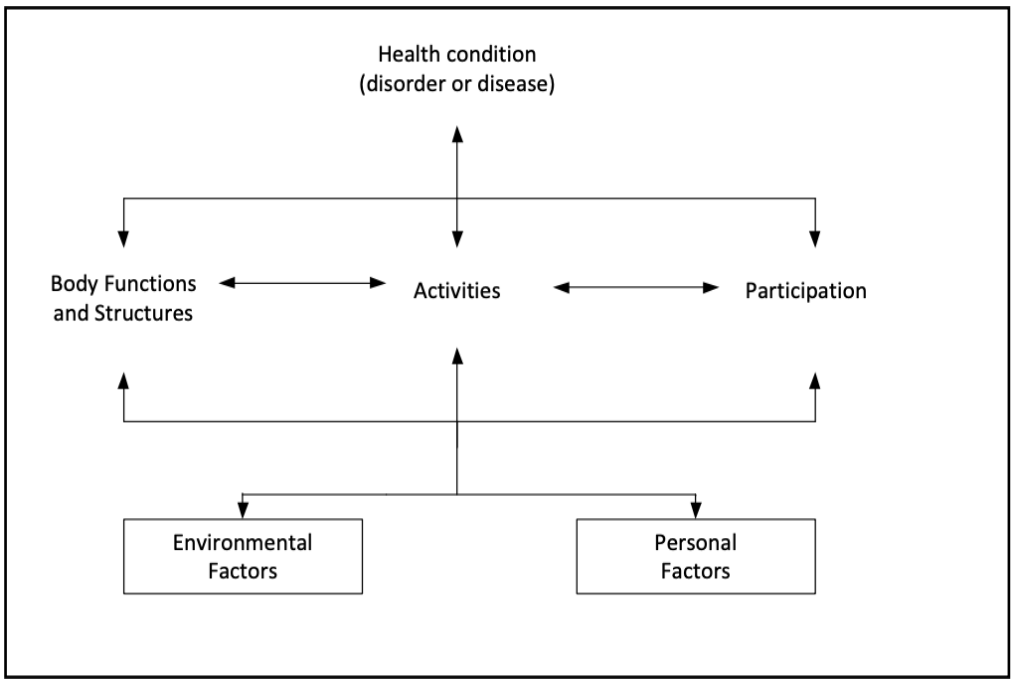

Figure 2.1: The ICF model: Interactions between ICF components (WHO, 2001, p.18)

Body functions and structures constitute physiology and anatomy. Actions and tasks undertaken by an individual are considered to be activities. Participation refers to involvement in life situations in regards to functioning. Environmental factors include the physical, social, and attitudinal dynamics that affect an individual’s functioning. Personal factors encompass any other influences on functioning which remain uncaptured elsewhere, including “gender, race, age, other health conditions, fitness, lifestyles, habits, coping strategies, social background, education, profession…and other characteristics, all or any of which may play a role in a disability” (WHO, 2001, p. 17). The area of personal factors relies on researchers to

assess those that are pertinent within any context (Barnes & Mercer, 2011), meaning that the ICF is as responsive to personal factors as the researcher employing the model.

The ICF has been widely accepted and applied in legislation, labour, schooling, and policy development internationally (Alford, Remedios, Webb, & Ewen, 2013). However, the conceptual underpinnings of the ICF are rarely examined in academic literature (Imrie, 2004; Solli & Da Silva, 2012). Additionally, the relevance of this model within Indigenous communities has rarely been examined (Beaudin, 2010; Kapp, 2011; J. A. King, Brough, & Knox, 2014).

The following section explains how SDT seeks to explore disability through a different lens.

Reframing disability theories: SDT

SDT critiques the North's models of disability as being individualistic, disability centric, unresponsive to poverty, ignoring disability prevention, and secularist (Chataika, 2012; Connell, 2007; Ghai, 2002; Grech, 2014). SDT seeks to contextualise disability within postcolonial environments, by considering how unequal distribution of land, the rural-urban divide, the dependence on natural resources, and the persistence of collectivism plays a role (Grech, 2011). As such, SDT emerged in the global South,[37] that is to say broadly those, "historically conquered peoples" (Meekosha, 2011, p. 669). As a concept, the term global South draws upon the idea that patterns of inequality persist, despite the heterogeneity of the experiences of colonialism, settler colonialism, independence, and post-colonialism, for those that fall within its purview (Grech, 2015b). Consequently, the global South has become a "shorthand to highlight the complex set of inequalities and dependencies of countries not divided by geographical boundaries" (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014, p. 293). The boundlessness[38] of the term global South includes societies and not solely nation-states (Connell, 2007; Grech, 2015b). As such, the global South refers to a state or society contending with "geopolitical asymmetries, poverty and isolation" entrenched in the historical roots of colonialism (Grech, 2015b, p. x). In line with this, my research seeks to apply the lens of SDT to reserves.

[37] The term global South is part of a family of terms including underdeveloped, Third World, and Least Economically Developed Countries (LEDC's) (Dados & Connell, 2012; Meekosha, 2011). However, within this family, the term global South is unique because the focus shifts from development to patterns of inequality.

[38] The regions of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania are often included in definitions of the global South, followed by defining the global North as Western Europe and North America (Connell, 2011; Dados & Connell, 2012; Meekosha, 2011). These geographic delineations seem to contradict the geographically boundless understanding of the global South. In addition, the colonial history and ongoing settler oppression faced by Indigenous peoples within states frequently designated as the North remains obscured.

The emerging literature of SDT "does not address the experiences in the peripheral parts of the global North" (Stienstra, 2015, p. 634). Much of the emerging literature in SDT dichotomises the global North as colonisers and global South as the colonised. Thus, experiences of the peripheral parts like reserves, though located geographically within the global North, "remained cloaked" (Stienstra, 2015, p. 632). Stienstra (2015) said SDT should include "the global South found in countries of the global North" referring specifically to Canadian reserves (p. 632). Drawing on this precedent, my research seeks to apply SDT within the context of Anishinaabe reserves.

Canada's settler colonialism continues to perpetuate deep-rooted inequalities between Indigenous peoples and settlers at "such an elevated rate, it makes their circumstances wholly unique" (Macdonald & Wilson, 2013, p. 32). I say this while acknowledging that the poverty experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canada may not be equally compared to poverty within the global South. Yet, the comparability of deprivation seems misaligned with the ontological base of SDT's goal to challenge the metanarratives of the North. Indigenous peoples residing within states commonly designated as the North, face settler ongoing oppression (Connell, 2011; Meekosha, 2011). In addition, Grech (2015b), suggests that the global South "lives within the global North," which seems to support the application of SDT to Anishinaabe people (p.x).

It is possible that SDT's tendency to dichotomise North and South has resulted in minimal research that examines the perspectives of Indigenous peoples with disabilities. For example, the UN's *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UNCRPD) (2006) makes no direct reference to Indigenous peoples. In addition, the document is only available in a handful of Indigenous languages (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2013). Moreover, Indigenous people with disabilities remain largely invisible within the work of the UNs' entities. The *State of the World's Indigenous People's* (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2009) reports that prevalence rates of disability are higher for Indigenous peoples globally, however, fails to expand on this assertion.

Conceptions of disability are framed within cultural values (Oliver, 1990). As such, SDT calls on disability studies to fundamentally change, to include theorists and social experiences from the South (Chouinard, 2015). Connell's (2007) seminal work outlining Southern theory, specifies four consequences of the North's dominance in knowledge generation: a claim of universality; reading from the centre; gestures of exclusion; and grand erasure (p. 44-46). Next, I apply these four consequences of Northern dominance to the North's disability discourse to demonstrate the need for SDT.

Ideas of universality exists within the North's disability discourse. Some argue that the North's models of disability claim universality, often assuming that "all societies are knowable" and that "they are knowable in the same way and from the same point of view" (Connell, 2007, p. 44). Correspondingly, the social and medical models of disability are critiqued for not reconciling dimensions of cultural and locational diversity alongside disability (Morris, 1996; Shakespeare & Watson, 2001). The social model is criticised for not reconciling dimensions of cultural difference and failing to account for various disabling environments (Ghai, 2002; Grech, 2015b; Shakespeare, 2012). This lack of responsiveness could also be seen in the ICF, which attempts to provide a culturally neutral model of disability (Solli & Da Silva, 2012). In contrast, within SDT disability is not universally understood but embedded in cultural understandings of personhood, causal factors, and responses to needs (Grech, 2015b; Meekosha, 2011). "The perception of disability varies between societies" requiring models that are "sensitive to the cultural, social, and psychological structures," meaning "every culture" has the potential to challenge "preconceived notions" and ask "anew how disability is understood, conceptualized, and dealt with" (Nicolaisen, 1995, p. 39).

The next contextual move, Connell (2007) outlines is "reading from the centre" which, involves describing one's work within the existing literature, using Northern concepts, debates, and research strategies. This was discussed earlier in the chapter, when providing an overview of Northern models of disability. When cross-cultural disability research does occur, the North is commonly framed as the point of reference (Meekosha, 2011). Problematically, the key debates Northern disability theories engage with, could be considered irrelevant to individuals in the South (Ghai, 2002; Meekosha, 2011). For example, the North's focus on universal design, independent living, adult status, human rights, and demedicalisation of disability "are often irrelevant to those whose major goal is survival" (Meekosha, 2011, p. 670). Northern disability theories assume that disability itself is the central difficulty faced by people with disabilities. This could be mismatched in communities where the majority of people suffer from hunger, land dispossession, pollution, natural disasters, war or widespread disease (Chataika, 2012). Another example of reading from the centre could be the social model's assumption that the State should help citizens. However, the Southern experience of disability frequently includes the state as a major force of oppression (Hollinsworth, 2013; Meekosha & Soldatic, 2011). For instance, within the reserve context, acknowledging that the lack of housing, water, food, and high rates of infectious disease result from state-based inequalities and systemic discrimination interacts with disabilities (Meekosha, 2011).

Connell's (2007) "gestures of exclusion" seems rife within the North's disability discourse. For instance, theorists from the global South are rarely cited in disability studies (Meekosha, 2004). Within the Sage's *Encyclopedia of Disability* (Albrecht, 2006), none of the entries include Indigenous peoples and it remains silent concerning the impact of colonialism on disability. Therefore, SDT notes that within the global South, there are vast intellectual resources like Indigenous knowledges, research agendas, and spiritual beliefs that could inform understandings of disability (Connell, 2011).

The "grand erasure," another of Connell's (2007) contextual moves, involves disregarding the experiences of individuals within the global South. This seems to be demonstrated by recognising that nearly 80% of the world's approximately billion disabled people live within the South (WHO & World Bank, 2011). Yet, the majority of knowledge concerning disabilities focusses on the North (Connell, 2011; Meekosha & Soldatic, 2011). Beyond a lack of locational engagement, the North's discourse often excludes consideration of colonialism (Grech & Soldatic, 2015; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009; Nguyen, 2018). Northern models of disability tend to consider disability as a natural occurrence, rather than socially produced (Chouinard, 2015). Thus, the interplay between disability and historical or political conditions like conflict, forced displacement, environmental pollution, nuclear testing, and discrimination typically rooted in colonialism remains neglected (Chouinard, 2015; Grech & Soldatic, 2015; Stienstra, 2015).

Not only are the processes of disablement within the global South largely ignored, but the structures present within settler colonialism could fundamentally transform the social meaning of disability. For example, Soldatic's (2015) work with Indigenous Canadians notes that "Indigenous knowledges map the body and mind differently from those western [*Northern*] disability epistemologies and, therefore, what stands as disability for the settler is not positioned in this way for Indigenous peoples" (p.57). Senior's (2000) study applied the ICF's predecessor with an Indigenous group in Australia and found that the model lacked contextual and locational specificity, making it "only as good as its user," who, without "thorough knowledge of the community" would likely "produce misleading results" (Senior, 2000, p. 22). This weakness appears to remain unmitigated for within the current ICF, and thus, its claims of universality, demonstrate the global North's erasure of differing experiences of disabilities. SDT calls for disability studies to no longer "remain ignorant of, and disconnected from, Southern bodies whose realities have testified to forms of violence and disablement" rooted in colonialism (Nguyen, 2018, p. 18). As a result, these four contextual moves seem to reveal the Northerness of disability studies.

It is time for the discourse to recognise that Northern knowledge has been privileged (Chouinard, 2015; Meekosha, 2011). SDT attempts to "rewrite the relationship between the margin [*global South*] and the centre [*global North*] by deconstructing the colonised and imperialistic ideologies as well as ableist hegemony" (Ghai, 2012, p. 284). SDT has the potential to demonstrate decolonisation through engagement with Indigenous knowledges (Nguyen, 2018) and could provide theoretical innovations within postcolonial and disability studies (Ghai, 2012; J. A. King et al., 2014; Nguyen, 2018).

Unsurprisingly, SDT considers colonialism to be central to examining how the North's theories overshadow the South (Ghai, 2002; Grech, 2015a; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009). Canadian scholarship often recognises the pertinence of settler colonial theory, justifying disengagement by instead seeking "patterns of cooperation, reciprocity and solidarity" (Ortner, 1984, p. 157).[39] Yet, applying settler colonialism alongside disability could generate a more nuanced understanding of disability, aligning more accurately with the experiences of Indigenous peoples. Studying disability whilst acknowledging settler colonialism exposes how conquest and persistent disparities continue to cause disability and inhibit access to Indigenous-based support networks (Chataika, 2012; Jakubowicz & Meekosha, 2002; Nelson, 2009; Stienstra, Baikie, & Manning, 2018). Despite this, the intersection of settler colonialism and disability rarely features in academia (C. Barker & Murray, 2010; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009).

The existence of differing views of disability held within Indigenous communities is considered below.

Exploring conceptions of disability among Indigenous peoples

Various international documents note that Indigenous peoples commonly possess diverse understandings of disability (Manor-Binyamini, 2014; Tauli-Corpuz, 2016; UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2013). Yet, there are few studies into the perception and experience of disability as related to Indigenous peoples (Ariotti, 1999; J. A. King et al., 2014; Salmon, 2004; Senior, 2000). The bulk of the literature concerning Indigenous people and disability attempts to determine prevalence rates (Nguyen, 2018; Senior, 2000), but there is limited research concerning Indigenous peoples and disability service provisions (Soldatic & Gilroy, 2018). Often, within the existing literature, there is a suggestion that Indigenous people may have differing views of disability including, ideas of causation, what constitutes a disability, and the social responses to disabilities (Senior, 2000).

[39] It could be argued that engagement with power dynamics and structural inequalities is necessary to understanding Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, before a multicultural understanding can be achieved (C. Barker & Murray, 2010).

The diversity of views on disability held by Indigenous peoples is seen in the literature (Senior, 2000). The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2013) mentioned varying understandings of disabilities, pointing out that disability as a concept is foreign to some Indigenous cultures and languages. In some Indigenous communities, the category of disability appears to be non-existent until imposed by settlers (Ariotti, 1999; Hollinsworth, 2013). For example, Joe's (1997) qualitative research involving Navajo[40] families with disabled children noted that the Navajo language has no word for a disability, and that no negative terminology or slang is used. Arriotti's (1999) research involving in-depth interviews with 50 A*n*angu[41] peoples concluded that the concept of disability was introduced by settlers.

In some Indigenous communities, substance abuse is included with the concept of disability (Hollinsworth, 2013; Salmon, 2004; Tait, 2009). Yet, many Indigenous communities regard only visible conditions like mobility impairments, amputations, or strokes as constituting a disability (Hollinsworth, 2013). Navajo people often believe that the cause of disability is disharmony, resulting from breaking taboos, negative feelings, or witchcraft[42] (Joe, 1982). In contrast, Bevan-Brown's (2004) research utilising in-depth interviews with 19 Māori young people with Autism and 51 of their family members, found that Autism was usually perceived as a gift to the community.

Various researchers have noted the importance of collectivism in understanding Indigenous views of disability. Stienstra and Ashcroft's (2010) critique that collective embodiment is not often considered because of the North's individualist ontology. Ingstad and Whyte's (1995) collection of ethnographic explorations of culture and disability showed that in more collectivist cultures, a person is deemed disabled if they cannot fulfil culturally expected roles. Similarly, Joe's (1982) research found that when a child functioned normally within the community, Navajo mothers disregarded previous disability diagnoses. Functioning normally within the community involves assisting in gathering food, interacting with the elders, and participating in spiritual activities. Correspondingly, Keltner, Crowell, and Taylor's research (2005), involving 151 Native American households with family members who were disabled, found that disability was usually only identified if one's community participation was reduced.

[40] Navajo refers to a Native American Indigenous tribe residing in present-day Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. It is the second largest federally recognised tribe in the United States.

[41] A*n*angu is an endonym that refers to a group of tribes residing is present-day western Australia.

[42] Witchcraft is the closest translation in English to describe this Indigenous idea. Indigenous people's use of the word refers to any incident when an individual uses negative energy to harm another (Joe, 1982; Lovern & Locust, 2008).

The lack of basic services and limited disability health services accessible in most Indigenous communities (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2013), seem to influence conceptions of disability. For example, Ariotti's (1999) qualitative research with the Anangu found that a person's perception of disability was dependent on their understanding of available aids and services. Correspondingly, King et al.'s (2014) ethnographic research involving an Indigenous care centre in Australia found that when care services were mismatched with cultural understandings of disability, families felt uncomfortable accessing services. Bevan-Brown's (2013) review of disability research involving Māori peoples noted that there was a general lack of culturally appropriate services and programmes, especially within schooling. This lack of services, caused lower school achievement.

Regardless of the varying conceptions of disabilities held by Indigenous peoples, there is a general lack of engagement within disability studies concerning cultural diversity (Jakubowicz & Meekosha, 2002). As Meekosha (2011) explains, disability studies frequently assumes a settler, Northern universality, therefore imposing settler normativity while contesting normativity of non-disabled people. As such, when Indigenous peoples with disabilities are mentioned, Indigeneity and disability are reduced to a double disadvantage (Hollinsworth, 2013).

There is limited research concerning Indigenous responses to disability (King et al., 2014). Individual and community-based spiritual ceremonies are sometimes used in response to disabilities (Keltner et al., 2005). Indeed, Jaffee and John's (2018) research concerning Native American communities questions the bifurcation of humans and land premising all Northern disability models, as they do not recognise that most Indigenous groups espouse a spiritually-based relational identity including connections with the land. However, the dualism of humans and land remains unexplored within disability studies. This idea of a holistic, often spiritually-based understanding of existence, could be considered the framework for understanding Indigenous ontologies in relation to disability. Yet, disability studies frequently disregard spirituality, which for many Indigenous communities is a crucial aspect of daily life (Grech, 2015b; Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010).

The existence of differing views of disability amongst various Indigenous groups seems to be linked to the context of settler colonialism, which is examined below.

Disability within settler colonialism

Domination stemming from the ideologies and structures of colonial encounters continue to be reproduced within all aspects of society including those related to disability (Hollinsworth, 2013). Social stratification present in settler society includes race and

disability of which no single dimension takes precedence but rather intersect each other (Meekosha, 2011). Yet, the North's disability discourse is criticised by SDT for being disability-centric (Grech, 2015a). Settler states where Indigenous peoples and settlers reside in relatively close proximity provide striking examples of Northern dominance. Seeking to understand the lived experiences of disability for people within the global South includes engagement with settler colonialism. As disability scholar Grech (2015a) wrote:

> Disability existed and was constructed, imagined and lived in the colonial, providing the backdrop for and framing the contemporary disability landscape, with the implication that understating the disability narrative in the global South means (re)positioning it (p.8).

Not only is the interplay of disability and colonialism absent from the North's disability discourse, but postcolonial theory is also analytically limited because of the lack of exploring disability (Grech & Soldatic, 2015).

Disability labels were used by settlers to categorise Indigenous peoples as biologically and mentally inferior to settlers (Hollinsworth, 2013). Discourses surrounding mental instability and the spread of contagious diseases were used to justify the segregation of Indigenous peoples from settlers in Canada, Australia, and the United States (Grech & Soldatic, 2015; Hollinsworth, 2013). Colonial structures framed the responses the colonisers used for Indigenous people with disabilities, which rejected Indigenous knowledges and support networks (Grech, 2015a; Hollinsworth, 2013). Within the limited research considering settler colonialism and disability, two emergent themes are that settler colonialism constructs disabilities and creates disabilities.

These two themes are explored alongside tactics commonly used by settlers, who benefit directly or indirectly from the oppression of Indigenous peoples. Therefore, settlers employ "strategies…that attempt to relieve settler feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 10). Within settler colonialism literature, these strategies are identified as including seeing critical consciousness as decolonisation, labelling Indigenous peoples as at-risk, and referring to Indigenous groups as "asterisk peoples" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 22). These strategies seems to be relevant to settler states and disability.

Within the theme of disability construction, settler colonialism could be seen to play a part in diagnosing Indigenous peoples as dysfunctional. These diagnoses are often underpinned by racist ideas and have far-reaching effects on Indigenous people. For example, the foetal alcohol syndrome/disorder (FAS/D) seems to expose how racism plays out within disability discourses. Waldram (1994, 2004, 2014) a medical anthropologist, notes that within Indigenous mental health, alcoholism generates the most literature, which seems reminiscent

of the settler stereotype of "drunken Indians." This stereotype continues to generate settler curiosity, concern, paternalism, and oppression (Salmon, 2004; Tait, 2009; Waldram, 2004). As related to the settler tactics of innocence, the FAS/D discourse shows the settler strategy of labelling Indigenous peoples as at-risk. Tait (2009), a Canadian medical anthropologist, whose work examines the settler response to Indigenous substance abuse, found that perceived scientific diagnoses of FAS/D led to justifying settler paternalism. Without data concerning the prevalence of FAS/D within the settler population or Indigenous population, Indigenous women have been singled out as at-risk (Salmon, 2004). Equally problematic is the lack of standardisation for FAS/D diagnosis with labels applied to Indigenous children by nonmedical service professionals like teachers (Tait, 2009).

The settler construction of FAS/D remains solely an Indigenous issue, of which the primary means of combating FAS/D is increasing the critical consciousness of Indigenous women about substance abuse. Within Canadian FAS/D literature, health and social conditions occupy the bulk of the analysis, and yet the entrenched economic disparities facing Indigenous peoples remain unexplored (Waldram, 2004). Therefore, the "risk" of FAS/D is situated within the individual behavioural choices of Indigenous mothers rather than "locating them within the broader contexts and lived experiences of on-going colonial and racialized [*sic*] oppressions" (Salmon, 2004, p. 279). As such, the settler response to FAS/D involves programmes aimed at individual behaviours, which seems to "deflect attention from other historical, social and structural problems in relation to Indigenous peoples and settler society" (Tait, 2009, p. 214). FAS/D is not caused by "alcohol alone" but rather "alcohol plus social and economic deprivation" which have roots in longstanding settler colonial oppression (Connell, 2011, p. 1377). This deflection could be considered another settler move of innocence that leaves settler society unchanged, while blaming Indigenous peoples for FAS/D.

Therefore, identifying Indigenous women as at-risk and focusing solely on critical consciousness underscores the interplay of settler colonialism and disability. Indeed, the "social construction of disability can tell us much about deep power relations within societies and their cultural practices" (Meekosha, 2006, p. 165).

Subsequently, the creation of disabilities as the result of settler colonialism is explained.

Systemic oppression and trauma

Exploring the relationships between disability and colonialism could also include how systemic oppression causes disabilities (Meekosha, 2011, p. 669). As such, my attempt to

deeply contextualise disability within a settler state, means that concepts like social suffering could provide useful frameworks (Meekosha, 2011; Muderedzi & Ingstad, 2011). Social suffering "describes collective and individual human suffering associated with life conditions shaped by powerful social forces" (Benatar, 1997, p. 1634). Indeed, social suffering is both historically and culturally situated and relates to group "burdens, troubles, and serious wounds to the body and spirit" (Kleinman, Das, & Lock, 1997, p. 101). Within the Canadian context, Indigenous communities have high rates of mental health issues "including interpersonal and intergenerational violence, substance abuse, and related accidental deaths and suicides…these personal problems are individual expressions of social suffering" (Adelson, 2009, p. 273). The history of colonisation and ongoing settler colonialism could be considered as "mass disablement and that the acquisition of disabilities may be tied into wider patterns of dispossession—the loss of family, home, land, community, employment" (C. Barker & Murray, 2010, p. 230). Living in reserves where economic, political, and social oppression is common, social suffering could be pertinent to researching disability. However, Northern disability scholarship usually resist theorising that encompasses notions of social suffering because of their commitment to changing perceptions of disability being a tragedy (C. Barker & Murray, 2010). Rejecting suffering as part of the disability discourse obstructs campaigning for awareness of settler abuses related to disability.

Literature within mental health, social work, and public health widely engages with notions of intergenerational trauma from settler colonialism, which has cascading impacts on Indigenous peoples (Gone, 2014). Intergenerational trauma contextualises Indigenous mental health "problems as forms of postcolonial suffering, to de-stigmatize [*sic*] Indigenous individuals whose recovery was thwarted by paralyzing self-blame, and to legitimate Indigenous cultural practices as therapeutic interventions in their own right (Kirmayer, Gone, & Moses, 2014, p. 300).

The idea of intergenerational trauma originates from "current, ancestral, historical, individual or collective experiences" of oppression and genocide (Linklater, 2014, p. 23). Thus, alongside academic discussions concerning Indigenous trauma is the growing literature outlining the North American Indigenous genocide (Niezen, 2014; Whitbeck, Adams, & Hoyt, 2004; Woolford, 2015). The literature focusses predominantly on residential schooling as the central traumatising event. However, initial contact (Whitbeck et al., 2004), enforcement of a capitalistic economic system (Duran, Heart, & Horse-Davis, 1998), forced community relocation (Duran & Duran, 1995), widespread substance addiction (Gagné, 1998), environmental pollution (Jaffee & John, 2018), and ongoing racism (Gagné, 1998) are also identified as events that traumatise Indigenous peoples. Among the various sources of

trauma outlined, historical and contemporary racism is rarely discussed. Indeed, few authors within the trauma discourse consider that Indigenous peoples are "second-class citizens" within settler states (Gagné, 1998, p. 369). Experiences of ongoing trauma should not be "solely connected to historical wrongs" because Indigenous communities persistently struggle with "poverty, high food costs, poor quality housing, inadequate health care, and a lack of social services" (Woolford, 2015, p. 261).

Although the Indigenous intergenerational trauma discourse has wide appeal amongst Indigenous people, there are weaknesses here as well (Gone, 2014; Kirmayer et al., 2014; Maxwell, 2014; Waldram, 2004). The most frequent critique of Indigenous intergenerational trauma is that its theoretical underpinnings derive from the Holocaust (Duran, 2006; Duran et al., 1998; Wesley-Equimaux & Smolewski, 2004). This seems to perpetuate the notion of universal trauma responses that are de-contextualised, which could distract from ongoing structural disparities facing Indigenous communities (Kirmayer et al., 2014).

Given that that Anishinaabe conceptions of disability seem informed by spiritual beliefs, SDT's critique of the Northern disability discourse as secular, is considered next.

Spiritual beliefs and disability conceptions

Generally, within academia there is a "presumption of non-belief that has achieved hegemony," meaning addressing spirituality "requires considerable determination" (Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010, p. 195). When included, spiritual beliefs are often represented as symbolic, mythological, or superstitious (Grech, 2012). Yet, spirituality remains a major "source of identity, identification and resistance…constructing much of the human condition" including disability (Grech, 2015b, p. 72). Disability research generally ignores spirituality[43] as a crucial aspect of humanity (Grech & Soldatic, 2015; Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010; S. Wilson, 2008). Indeed, failing to engage with spirituality confines the exploration of disability and restricts the entire discipline (Grech, 2015b). Upon recognising this hegemony and the resulting gap in literature, some disability scholars call for a development of "ontological and epistemological tools for understanding spirituality" (Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010, p. 195).

Indigenous scholars frequently note the spiritual heterogeneity of Indigenous peoples and resist subsuming this diversity into universal spiritual conceptions (Cajete, 2000; Deloria, 1994; Joe, 1982; Locust, 1988).Yet, in response to increased urbanisation of Indigenous

[43] It is important to distinguish between spirituality and religion. Within this dissertation, spirituality is used because the research participants themselves preferred this term. Spirituality, as explained by the participants, seemed to include one's connection to the universe. Whereas, religion is often used to describe external manifestations of spirituality involving organisations (S. Wilson, 2008). The notion of a centralised organisation that regulates ideas and practices is considered incongruent with Anishinaabe heterogenous beliefs and practices with literature (Anderson, 2011; Hart, 2002).

peoples and the desire to address cultural loss, pan-Indigenous spirituality is spreading across North America (Fonda, 2016). Distinct from settlers, Indigenous peoples rally to find lost spiritual beliefs and create contemporary interpretations of pan-Indigenous spirituality. Pan-Indigenous spirituality is normally accepted while also trying to incorporate local traditions (Fonda, 2016). Across various social science disciplines, scholars outline tenets of pan-Indigenous spirituality, which are summarised in Figure 2.2 (Adelson, 2009; Deloria, 1994; Fonda, 2016; Ross, 1992). Although these beliefs are commonly found across Indigenous groups, one cannot assume that members of the same Indigenous community equally share the same spiritual beliefs (Adelson, 2009).

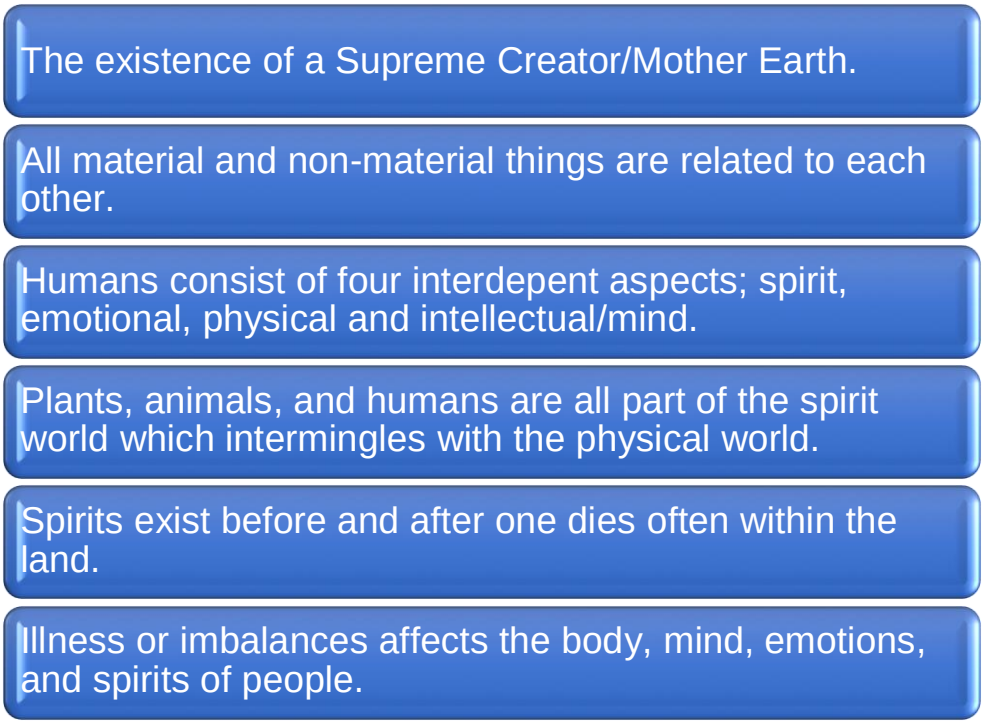

Figure 2.2: Commonly-held Indigenous spiritual beliefs

For many Indigenous peoples, as demonstrated by the third tenet in Figure 2.2 (p. 37), spirituality is just as important as other aspects of the mental, emotional, and physical self. S. Wilson (2008), an Opaskwayak Cree[44] scholar explained that within an Indigenous worldview, "spirituality is not separate but it is an integral, infused part of the whole" (p.89). Similarly, Deloria (1994), a Lakota[45] Indigenous scholar, states that Indigenous epistemologies originate from seeing "all things and all thoughts" as "related through the spirit" (p. 44). Indeed, interrelatedness or relational ontology, considers all things as

[44] Opaskwayak Cree refers to a First Nations group residing in present-day Manitoba, Canada.
[45] Lakota refers to a group of six Indigenous tribes residing in present-day North and South Dakota, United States. Famous members of this tribe include Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, and Chief Sitting Bull.

spiritually connected (Anderson, 2011; Linklater, 2014; Stienstra et al., 2018; S. Wilson, 2008).

The second commonly-held Indigenous spiritual belief of respecting and seeing all things within an overall system, means that relationships are not considered as oppositional or binaries "but inclusive and accepting of diversity" as part of existence (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003, p. 207). Interrelatedness involves balancing one's relationships including people, ecosystems, all living beings, and spirits (Linklater, 2014). Attempting to find balance involves the collective and individual level: a person balances their own physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual dimensions, while simultaneously finding balance with other people, living things, and the non-material world (Hart, 2002). This journey of finding balance is considered a life-long pursuit, with no state considered permanent, and is essential to the community and individuals' wellbeing (Hart, 2002).

Relationships between people and the land is "seen as a sacred key concept within Indigenous spirituality" (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 87). Theological scholars refer to this sacred connectedness to the land as spatial spirituality (Deloria, 1994; K. Wilson & Peters, 2005). Settlers frequently consider the land something to be exploited, whereas within an Indigenous worldview the land is considered as "webs of connectedness that constitute our [*Indigenous peoples*] very meaning" (Kirmayer, Fletcher, & Watt, 2009, p. 311). When interacting with the land, a "person is not simply a distinct or independent entity" but rather one that "travels through a landscape imbued with historical, collective, and cultural significance"(Fletcher, 2004, p. 129). As such, in seeking to understand the multidimensional identities and lived experiences of Indigenous people with disabilities, spatial spirituality should be considered.

Despite literature outlining the influence of spiritual connection with the land, disability literature rarely explores this intersect (Jaffee & John, 2018; Meekosha, 2011; Soldatic, 2015). Transcending the bifurcation of the body/land would require disability conceptions that explore Indigenous sovereignty over the land as essential to lived experiences of Indigenous peoples with disabilities and disability justice movements (Jaffee & John, 2018). For instance, settler-caused pollution is difficult to rectify because interconnectedness with the land makes relocation spiritually problematic.[46] Thus, interrelatedness to the land could impact disability perceptions concerning normality, causation, treatment, and prevention. This in turn could influence special education

[46] Reserves within the research area contend with mercury poisoning in the main river system because of settler industrial projects. Mercury cannot be removed from the water or the fish. This causes a myriad of health issues and disabilities including but not limited to, learning disabilities, asthma, speech disorders, anaemia, seizure disorders, and visual issues.

provisions, particularly when traditional lands are considered the only appropriate location to undergo treatment for a disability (Senier, 2013).

Another belief common in pan-Indigenous spirituality is that the spirits of one's ancestors remain present within the land in the form of animals (Deloria, 1994). This idea forms the basis for pan-Indigenous notions of reincarnation, not dissimilar to shamanic beliefs. This in turn influences experiences of disability. Some Indigenous peoples believe that a person who suffered unjustly in life could reborn into the tribe within in a new physical body (J. A. King et al., 2014; Linklater, 2014). Various Indigenous scholars believe that variations of reincarnation beliefs are found among all of North America's Indigenous groups (Joe, 1982; J. A. King et al., 2014; Obeyesekere, 2002). Generally, Indigenous peoples believe that the soul of the deceased can reincarnate in the embodiment of humans, animals, or landforms (J. C. King, 2011), for the purpose of helping both the living and the deceased (Obeyesekere, 2002). Having certain types of disabilities could be considered a form of suffering that necessitates being reincarnated. The point at which disability intersects with reincarnation as a generator of strength and support from the spirit world, remains sparsely mentioned in disability literature.

In exploring Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, recognising spiritual beliefs seems necessary. Therefore, applying the lens of SDT, which seeks to deeply contextualise understandings of disability within the worldview of individuals including spiritual beliefs, could help in gaining insight into Anishinaabe conceptions of disability (Ingstad & Whyte, 2007). Spirituality can provide connection with ideas grander than oneself. Failing to consider spirituality within disability research could encourage the assumption that disability is inextricably linked with suffering. Therefore, the discourse could ignore how individuals with disabilities flourish and embody transformative potential (Stienstra and Ashcroft, 2011). Canadian and Australian healthcare systems have begun including aspects of Indigenous spirituality into their treatment services (Waldram, 1994). Indeed, the importance of Indigenous spirituality has been noted within legal and justice systems, with the inclusion of restorative justice[47] for Indigenous peoples in Canada (Ross, 1992). Indigenous scholars also advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous spirituality within research methodology and dissemination, which will be discussed within the next chapter (Anderson, 2011; S. Wilson, 2001). However, Canadian special education has yet to consider Indigenous beliefs.

[47] Restorative justice involves addressing the harm caused by a crime by inviting the parties affected by the crime like communities, individual victims, and offenders to discuss their needs resulting from the crime. Restorative justice encourages meaningful community engagement and offers an opportunity for healing. Restorative justice can take on various forms like including tribal band council members or elders.

Therefore, for Anishinaabe youth with disabilities, schooling could involve traversing possible mismatches between Northern disability metanarratives and Indigenous beliefs.

As previously mentioned, SDT has yet to largely inform special education. In the following section I consider this interplay.

Rethinking Indigenous special education

SDT understandings of disability have yet to inform the special education discourse, which commonly fails to respond to the realities of disability in the global South (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014). For example, the assumption that special education is culture-free, often leads to culturally insensitive special education practices (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994). Thus, applying SDT to special education could promote practices that reflect localised understandings of disability.

The absence of research concerning Indigenous secondary school special education (Phillips, 2010) could result from sparse statistical information, the lack of documents outlining Indigenous special education programming, and the difficulty of gaining access to reserves (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2001). Consequently, attempts to design special education programming based on Indigenous views of disability remain unexplored in academia (Phillips, 2010c). As a result, there is minimal understanding of how differing conceptions of disabilities influence Indigenous students accessing special education programming.

The limited research concerning Indigenous special education seems to focus on school professionals' interactions with guardians and culturally insensitive curriculum (Joe, 1982; Lovern & Locust, 2008; Senier, 2013). The following section reviews literature concerning the potential impacts of differing views of disability on: disproportionality; purposes of special education; deficit views of culturally and linguistically diverse[48] (CLD) families; and multidimensional identities. These themes are explored by reviewing the limited research involving Indigenous students alongside research conducted with CLD students.

Disproportionality

[48] Due to the sparsity of disability research involving Indigenous peoples with disabilities, I review literature concerning CLD students and families. Although CLD students represent a larger group than the focus on this research, CLD research could provide valuable insight which could be further problematised within the Anishinaabe community setting. Also, similarly to CLD students, Anishinaabe students are usually taught by white female teachers that adhere to Northern notions.

Within the literature, disproportionality is discussed in conjunction with the representation of CLD groups and varying types of disability. Both forms of disproportionalities have been reported among Indigenous students living in the United States and Australia (Gabel, Curcic, Powell, Khader, & Albee, 2009; Lamorey, 2002; Sweller, Graham, & Bergen, 2012; Vraniak, 1997). Research concerning Ojibway students participating in special education, for instance, found that they were three times more likely to be placed in emotionally disturbed classrooms than any other ethnic group (Vraniak, 1997). Yet, they were underrepresented in mental health programmes. Significantly, however, statistical analysis of disproportionalities in Canadian reserve schools remains impossible, as there is no documentation of types of disability, gender, or the exact locations of students (Phillips, 2010a). This research-based void should be examined delicately, especially given the disproportionality issues of Indigenous students in other settler states.

Disabilities like emotional disturbance depend nearly exclusively on teacher judgments, which require understanding learning contexts and cultural values concerning schooling (Harry & Klingner, 2014). The diagnosis of students within these more ambiguous categories like emotionally disturbed can be based on intrinsic deficits in the students despite the "social, environmental, biological, and educational contributors" of various types of disabilities (Harry & Klingner, 2014, p. 13). Some data suggests that the overrepresentation of CLD students with disabilities that rely on school professional judgements are students that the regular education system finds "too difficult to serve" (Harry & Klingner, 2014, p. 13). These distinctions made by classroom teachers has been criticised as being based on racial stereotyping (Kalyanpur & Harry, 2004).

The influence of differing views of disability on disproportionality needs to be further researched (Strand & Lindsay, 2009). However, disproportionate number of CLD students in special education is explained as stemming from intrinsic deficiencies of the student (Donovan & Cross, 2002; O'Connor & Fernandez DeLuca, 2006), inadequate teacher training (Blanchett, Klingner, & Harry, 2009; Chamberlain, 2005), vulnerable family circumstances (Klingner, Artiles, Kozleski, Harry, et al., 2005; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012), or culturally insensitive special education referral processes (Ford, 2012; Harry, 1994; Patton, 1998). I will now examine the last of these explanations of disproportionalities because the effects of differing views of disability is most relevant to my research.

Most teachers seem to believe that special education is culturally-neutral (Kalyanpur & Harry, 2009). Additionally, special education professionals interpret CLD students' performance through what are often white-middle class parameters (Patton, 1998). Cultural norms determine what behaviours are acceptable, thus, disproportionality could be explained

as cultural inflexibility in special education (Skrtic, 1991). Gay's (2002) review of American special education policies, concludes that the disproportionality of CLD students in special education results from incongruent attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours concerning the definition of disability. Conversely, proportionate representation was found in medically diagnosed categories, but disproportionalities are found in teacher-diagnosed categories.[49]

Deficit views of families

The existing research concerning school professionals' views of Indigenous families suggests the commonality of negatively stereotyping Indigenous peoples. These assumptions about Indigenous families are particularly relevant, because the majority of teachers working in Canadian Indigenous communities are non-Indigenous (Riley & Ungerleider, 2012; Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005). However, it is difficult to conduct research about racism within the classroom and school structures, given the subtleties and nuances of socialised racism, especially within settler societies (Regan, 2010).

As previously discussed within chapter 1, in settler societies, whiteness and white privilege is considered invisible (Rodriguez, 2000). For example, a qualitative study involving 200 white teachers, examined the strategies used to avoid confronting whiteness and white privilege within their classroom. It concluded that these teachers frequently discounted the existence of racism leading to pathologising Indigenous families (Solomona et al., 2005). Riley and Underleider's (2012) research concerning the factors influencing teachers' decisions around Indigenous students, found the racial stereotypes guided their decisions despite having other relevant information. This research involved 50 preservice settler Canadian teachers and asked them to recommend placements for grade eight students based on academic merit. They were provided with the students' basic demographic information and past report cards. Almost all the teachers presumed that Indigenous students faced a lack of support from home and had financial difficulties. Although the teachers often deemed their assumptions as "well-meaning," their stereotyping of Indigenous families determined the types of education provisions offered (Riley & Ungerleider, 2012, p. 316). Correspondingly, Harry and Klinger's (2014) research concerning CLD families who had children with disabilities, found that the "child's racial identity" became "interwoven with historical stereotypes of low intelligence, stigmatized behaviors [*sic*], poverty, or detrimental family circumstances" (Harry & Klingner, 2014, p. 48).

[49] These teacher-diagnosed categories are also referred to as judgemental categories and include categories such as learning disabilities, mental retardation, and emotionally disturbed.

When considering special education for Indigenous students, school professionals' differing views concerning disability, could lead to blaming families for causing or exacerbating their student's disability. These negative views seem based on the assumption of parental causation (Zionts & Zionts, 2003) and the apparent disengagement of CLD families (Geenen, Powers, & Lopez-Vasquez, 2001). Zionts and Zionts (2003) research involving 24 African American families with children who had cognitive disabilities, found that parents felt that school professionals blamed them for causing or aggravating their child's disability. Perceptions of parental causation of a disability could be significant for Indigenous students because of the prevalence of FAS/D and baby bottle tooth decay[50] (Alberta Ministry of Education, 2005; Phillips, 2010c). Regrettably, the views school professionals have of CLD families appear to influence the decisions regarding special education diagnosis and provisions offered (Kalyanpur & Harry, 2009; Knotek, 2003).

Research concerning settler school professionals often shows entrenched assumptions that Indigenous families' are not involved in their child's schooling (Solomona et al., 2005). Whereas, being a settler becomes a form of cultural capital that leads to assumptions of positive familial support for schooling (Lareau & Horvat, 1999). Literature examining Indigenous families that historically experienced schooling as a means of assimilation and discrimination, suggests that within the contemporary context, parents often remain deeply critical of school systems which influences their interactions schooling (Battiste, 2013; Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

In addition, differing views of disability may cause school professionals to assume a lack of familial engagement (Geenen et al., 2001; Robinson-Zañartu & Majel-Dixon, 1996). A study comparing CLD families' self-reported attempts to help their disabled child were compared with school professionals' perceptions of familial involvement with these same students (Harry & Klingner, 2014). This research found that school professionals had differing views than the CLD families concerning what constitutes a disability and how to help these students meaning the "ways of caring and the sources of pride were not always consonant with what the school personnel would count as important" (Harry & Klingner, 2014, p. 87). These differing views caused the school professionals to be unaware or discount the CLD families' involvement with their disabled child (Geenen et al., 2001).

School professions could view Anishinaabe family involvement as low, because caring for disabilities is normally a community role instead of being relegated to people

[50] Baby bottle tooth decay (also known as early onset caries) often results in oral surgery that removes all of the upper incisor teeth. These children usually access special education services throughout primary school because of major speech delays and lasting speech impediments that could impact their reading level for years within formalised schooling (Alberta Ministry of Education, 2005).

outside of the community (Lovern & Locust, 2008). Indigenous families could also mistrust school professionals and avoid school settings because of their previous experiences in residential schooling (Wesley-Equimaux & Smolewski, 2004). Consequently, failing to understand the cultural context framing family engagement could cause school professionals to have negative views concerning Anishinaabe familial involvement.

Cultural hegemony

Northern beliefs concerning the purposes of special education are embedded within special education programming. Cultural hegemony within special education means that the beliefs and practices of settler society infiltrate the values, behaviours, and functioning of the programmes. Settler society is privileged above any other cultural beliefs (Harry & Klingner, 2014) and entrenched within settler societies is the "mythos" of "settler neutrality" which could be considered an "expression of settler symbolic violence, or power over Indigenous people" (Regan, 2010, p. 39). This idea that settler norms represent that status quo can cause culturally imposing and insensitive practices in special education (Rodriguez, 2000).

Differing conceptions of disability could lead to differing beliefs concerning the purposes of special education. Secondary school special education is premised on helping students gain adult status, by preparing them for independent living, and formalised paid employment (Dee, 2006). Aligning with SDT's critique of Northern disability models, these aims of special education are based on capitalism, individualism, and industrialism (Grech, 2015b) and exemplifies cultural hegemony within special education. Literature concerning special education for CLD students discusses incongruencies between the North's purposes of special education, including promoting independence (Algozzine, Browder, Karvonen, Test, & Wood, 2001) and formalised employment (Kalyanpur & Harry, 2009). The central nature of these aims within most special education programmes could delegitimise and erode Indigenous societal and familial ties (Jackson & Smith, 2001). Hence, research is needed on Anishinaabe perspectives of the aims of special education (Jackson & Smith, 2001).

The promotion of independence, often central to special education programmes within the North, could jar with notions of collectivism which often underpins Indigenous spiritual beliefs (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). For example, Kalyanpur's (1998) research of a Native American mother with a disabled child found that the mother believed that her daughter's special education courses which promoted independent living were eroding her Native American identity. Similarly, Maudslay, Rafique and Uddin's (2003) research in the UK with Asian young women with disabilities, found that the school's focus on independence was at odds with the students' collectivist notions.

The Northern concept of independence being central to special education programming could be problematic when applied to Anishinaabe communities. This notion of independence includes preparing secondary school students for full participation in paid employment, which is operationalised in the school setting via transition planning. Studies have found that for Indigenous youth, leaving secondary school is a developmental task based on cultural, social, economic, and historical circumstances (Jackson & Smith, 2001; Marshall, Stewart, Popadiuk, & Lawrence, 2013). In reserves, for example, individuals often engage in informal work like hunting and gathering. Accordingly, Wilder et al.'s (2001) research concerning Navajo youth accessing special education, advised school professionals to consider the expectations communities have of special education enrolment and to adapt the school's services accordingly. Yet, special education transition planning in federal schools appears to be applied without cultural considerations (Phillips, 2010a).

The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2013) warned that the policies, practices, and beliefs underpinning most special education curricula strive for full inclusion within settler societies. Within the context of ongoing oppression, Indigenous communities are "wary" of institutions that "might lead to assimilation, threaten identities, languages and Indigenous ways of life" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2013, p. 4). With a dearth in the literature, questions concerning culturally-based special education programming looms largely unexamined.

Multidimensional identities

In seeking to understand Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, examining how my participants make sense of their identities within school and community settings is crucial. Fittingly, social identity theory highlights the significance of community and cultural contexts on identity construction (Tajfel, 1982). Research regarding Indigenous youth frequently notates the difficulty they have in negotiating their identities (Castellano, 2008; Marshall et al., 2013). In the case of Anishinaabe youth, negative stereotypes concerning Indigenous people seem to influence youth identity construction (Hare, Archibald, Fellner, & Christian, 2011). The literature also suggests that the pan-Indigenous spiritual belief of interrelatedness could result in many Anishinaabe people having a form of place-based identity (Deyhle, 1992; McCormick & Amundson, 1997).

Erikson's (1968) work developed the first theory that focused on adolescence as crucial in identity development (Lysne & Levy, 1997). However, his model, framed within the North's worldviews, could be less pertinent when applied cross-culturally (Finley, 1997). Despite this, subsequent theories of ethnic identity development, have utilised Erickson's

suggestion that identity is composed of social roles (Lysne & Levy, 1997; Phinney, 1996). For example, Atkinson, Morten and Sue's (1993) model of minority identity development proposes that culturally diverse individuals undergo various stages in negotiating their identity. However, this model ignores that individuals may simultaneously identify with several minority groups (Jones & McEwen, 2000). Although most research concerning identity construction acknowledges differences like age and gender, they commonly discount the intersection of identities and that social settings can influence the dominance of certain identities (Finley, 1997).

Intersectionality theory is usually applied to experiences of oppression that challenge the failure of gender-based and race-based research to capture the lived experiences of individuals with multiple interacting identities (McCall, 2005). It is thus frequently applied to research concerning the interaction of gender, sexual orientation, and cultural identities operating on simultaneous levels (Clarke & McCall, 2013). Each type of identity is inextricably linked, and must be considered in understanding an individual's identity within each context (Crenshaw, 1991). Framing identity through intersectionality can also elicit a "social understanding that is otherwise invisible when scholars focus on a single set of social dynamics" (Clarke & McCall, 2013, p. 349). Nevertheless, intersectionality is criticised for being ambiguous and complex rendering the application to real-life situations challenging (McCall, 2005).

The Multidimensional Identity Model endeavours to apply intersectionality when explaining the interplay between identities (Reynolds & Pope, 1991). This model claims that an individual can identify with multiple aspects of self in a segmented manner, identify passively with one aspect of self, or choose to identify with multiple identities. However, the Multidimensional Identity Model remains largely unapplied and ignores the influence of context.

The influence of the school context on identity is important in my research. This is because of settler and Anishinaabe worldviews that often both exist within the school context. Lynse and Levey's (1997) research comparing the ethnic identity construction of Native American students attending a Native American-controlled school, with those in a state-controlled school, found that students attending the Native American-controlled school were more likely to positively categorise their Native American identity. Similarly, some researchers found that when schools included Indigenous content and cultural practices, students were more likely to affiliate with their ethnic identities (M. R. Atleo & Fitznor, 2010; Burk, 2007). However, explicit exploration of the effects of school programming on the identity constructions of students requires additional study.

Research concerning how special education influences students' perceived identities, is minimal. This is significant because, special education often ignores students' ethnic, cultural, gender, and religious identities, thereby assuming a universal disabled identity (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994). The limited research concerning the interaction between disability identities and other identities within the context of special education, suggests that these intersections are complex (Barnes, Mercer, & Shakespeare, 1999). For example, Atkin and Hussain's (2003) research of Asian girls in the UK with disabilities, found that they identified themselves by their cultural identity instead of their disabled identity. My MPhil research found that Anishinaabe secondary school-aged participants facing disability discrimination in their reserve, rejected their Anishinaabe identity and affiliated more strongly with their disabled identities (Christensen, 2013). In exploring these intersections, the influence of special education practices on the identities of students could be exposed, highlighting their conceptualisations of disability within their lived experiences.

Conclusion

The previously reviewed literature substantiates my application of SDT to my research context. It does this by highlighting the dominance of the North's worldviews in disability and special education research. Contextualising conceptions of disability has the capacity to elicit nuanced understandings of the daily-lived experiences of Anishinaabe students, families, and reserves. Applying SDT within a settler colonial context was examined by considering how settlers construct and cause disabilities. This literature review suggests that the notion of systemic oppression, found within settler states, causing intergenerational trauma should also considered part of the disability discourse.

In seeking to deeply contextualise understandings of disability, spirituality was also examined as a crucial factor. Pan-Indigenous spiritual beliefs concerning relationships with the land and ancestors were explored. Examining the special education discourse in relation to differing views of disability amongst CLD groups, and more specifically Indigenous communities, leads to considering the disproportionality of CLD students in special education, the purposes of special education, deficit views of CLD families, and the identity construction of CLD students with disabilities. A contextualised understanding of disability is necessary when attempting to decolonise special education.

My research design, outlined in the next chapter, details my research methodology that considers Anishinaabe ways of knowing throughout all stages of the research in an endeavour to explore Anishinaabe understandings of disability.

Chapter 3 - A penetrating and vulnerable expedition

Introduction

Having discussed the literature in the previous chapter, I now turn to explaining the details of designing, consulting, and engaging in research that sought to centre Anishinaabe young people with disabilities. This chapter details the reasoning and theories driving my methodology. Indeed, I approached planning and conducting this research as a penetrating and vulnerable expedition. Not only was I seeking to ask the young people about their lived experiences of having a disability, I was engaging in research within a locale that suffered at the hands of previous researchers.[51] As a non-Indigenous Canadian who grew up and taught extensively within federal schools in northern Ontario, I knew the research practices outlined in this chapter sought to answer my research questions in the most culturally-based manner that respected Indigenous knowledges. Serious reflexivity and thorough reading of Indigenist research techniques helped inform my research practices at all stages. My personal commitment to engaging with reserve elders and chiefs further aided in gaining access to these people.

Indigenist research paradigm

Indigenist research is a term used to refer to research conducted by non-Indigenous or Indigenous researchers who are engaging in research that empowers Indigenous peoples (S. Wilson, 2001). Non-Indigenous individuals conducting research within an Indigenist paradigm are referred to as ally-researchers. Indigenist research seeks community healing through research that upholds Indigenous peoples' goals of self-determination (L. T. Smith, 1999). Indeed, as Battiste (2013), Mi'kmaq[52] educational scholar explains, the "Indigenist paradigm is one that is not claimed by anyone but is a way of sharing ontology and a practice that contributes to the empowering of indigenous [*sic*] peoples" (p. 74). Below, Figure 3.1, the core principles of Indigenist research are summarised. As guiding principles for my

[51] In the early 1960s, one of the reserves involved in my research, approved a group of anthropologists to conduct research. This group of researchers was invited to live on the reserve. To maintain the anonymity of the reserve, the exact details and topic of this previous research will not be explained. Once the research was published, the reserve felt mislead by the researchers. This research was picked up by national journalists and the news stories that followed created issues for the reserve, like lost grant money for various programmes. Since this incident, none of the reserve band councils have approved researchers access to their communities.

[52] Mi'kmaq is a First Nations tribe that originally inhabited present-day New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and parts of Quebec.

methodology, each of these aforementioned tenets of Indigenist research will be discussed throughout this chapter.

1) To contemplate researcher positionality to avoid replicating systems of oppression (Snow et al., 2015).
2) To ensure that Indigenous communities (reserves) approve of the research (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1998).
3) To give back to the Indigenous communities and individual participants (Hart, Straka, & Rowe, 2017; S. Wilson, 2008).
4) To represent localised cultures and collectivist societies (Battiste, 1998, 2013).
5) To utilise cultural practices creatively in data collection methods (Lavallée, 2009).
6) To challenge researcher and participant roles by engaging in power sharing (L. T. Smith, 2005a).

Figure 3.1: Indigenist research tenets

Scholars in New Zealand[53], Australia[54], Canada [55], and the United States [56] have developed Indigenist methodologies primarily through establishing an ontological and epistemological space for research that centres Indigenous knowledges (Snow et al., 2015). However, there is a need for scholars to discuss the implementation of Indigenist research principles (Hart et al., 2017). A lack of guidance regarding implementation could lead to research that reproduces oppression or fails to operatise these theoretical commitments (L. T. Smith, 2005b).

In attending to the Indigenist research principle of representing localised knowledges, my theoretical stance is based in Indigenous knowledges.

Theoretical stance: Settler colonialism

When I started my doctoral research, I entered the programme utilising a postcolonial stance because of Canada's colonial history (Brown, 1996). Yet, the application of postcolonialism in my first-year report proved problematic because colonisation in Canada is ongoing with the continued oppression of Indigenous peoples. Postcolonialism often focuses on decolonisation and reconciliation which can shroud racism, fear, and land occupation expressed during my pilot. I sought to avoid perpetuating the persistent domination of Indigenous peoples operating within my research site.

Equally problematic, my research occurs in schools, which exist within the legacy of recently dismantled residential schools, previously overviewed (p.11-12). It seemed that

[53] Bevan-Brown, 2004, 2013; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2005a.
[54] Connell, 2006, 2007; McGrath & Phillips, 2008; Nakata, 2007; Soldatic, 2015.
[55] Battiste, 2013; Haig-Brown, 2001, 2010; Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996; Hart, 1996, 2002; Lavallée, 2009; S. Wilson, 2001, 2008.
[56] Atkinson et al., 1998; Piquemal, 2000, 2003; Rigney, 1999; Worby & Rigney, 2002.

focusing on postcolonialism's ideas of decolonisation can fail to consider residential schooling as a site of genocide. In this research, I sought to employ settler colonialism which engages more with the racial dynamics of my research locale.

Settler colonialism is a distinct form of colonialism[57] whereby settlers[58] permanently occupy and declare sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and lands. In settler colonialism, the "settlers came with the intention of making a new home…that insists on settler sovereignty over all things" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). The distinguishing features of settler colonialism are depicted in Figure 3.2.

1) Settlers come with the intent to permanently remain (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2015).
2) Settler colonialism is not temporarily contained as an event, but rather ongoing through societal structures (including schooling) (A. J. Barker, Rollo, & Lowman, 2016; Regan, 2010).
3) Land is the most valuable and contested resource because it is a home for the settlers and a source of capital (Tuck & Yang, 2012).
4) Instead of trying to decolonise, settlers deny collective responsibility for genocidal and assimilationist projects (A. J. Barker et al., 2016; Cavanagh & Veracini, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2012).
5) Settler domination asserted through power structures that support myths[59] and false narratives concerning settler belonging (Regan, 2010; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Woolford, 2015).
6) As an Indigenous person, subtle and systemic forms of violence including racism, poverty, cultural domination, land appropriation, power and privilege are part of daily life (Niezen, 2014; Regan, 2010).

Figure 3.2: Key aspects of settler colonialism

The type of violence involved in settler colonialism is ongoing because occupation is not a temporary event, but rather is reasserted by settler occupation (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Unlike postcolonialism's push towards decolonising, settler colonialism seeks to form an unchallenged settler state. Settler domination is demonstrated through power structures that seek the erasure and assimilation of Indigenous people, culture, land claims, and treaty rights (Veracini, 2016). As such, the application of postcolonial theory could be deemed

[57] Distinct forms of colonialism are part of colonial studies. The beginning of colonial studies during the 1950's and 1960's, was referred to as the "age of decolonisation." Quickly colonial studies became fragmented and various discourses emerged. By the 1980's postcolonialism arose to emphasise the enduring legacy of colonial power that continued to influence the previously colonised group after official subjection had ceased.

[58] Settlers are defined as non-Indigenous individuals that are "part of the collective and sovereign displacement…that moves to establish a permanent homeland by way of displacement" of Indigenous peoples (Veracini, 2016, p. 4).

[59] For example, settler Canadians largely believe in the peacemaker myth that Indigenous-settler relationships were marked by compromise, peace, and treaty-making (Regan, 2010). Regardless of historical evidence of corrupt and misleading treaty making.

inapplicable to a settler state, such as Canada (A. J. Barker et al., 2016; Cavanagh & Veracini, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

However, my application of SDT (p. 26) could be considered incongruent because SDT relies on postcolonial theory. Some argue that SDT applies postcolonial theory to examine experiences of disability within the complex environments of extensive patterns of inequality resulting from colonialism (Grech, 2015a; Meekosha, 2011). Thus, SDT applies postcolonialism to explore disability within the systems rooted in colonialism. My application of settler colonialism instead of postcolonialism aligns with seeking to understand experiences of disability within complex colonial settings. Also, within SDT, the heterogeneity of the experiences of colonialism is widely discussed and innovation concerning the varying types of colonialism is encouraged (Grech, 2015a). My application of settler colonialism alongside the SDT extends both theories. At the moment, settler colonialism is a growing subfield of literature that remains largely theoretical with a lack of application to research settings (Cavanagh & Veracini, 2016). Indeed, settler colonial scholars caution that within colonial studies, setter colonialism remains unexplored (A. J. Barker, 2012). As such, it is unsurprising that settler colonialism remains unspecified in SDT.

Indigenous researchers often note that Indigenous knowledges[60] cannot be easily infused into Northern knowledge systems (Battiste, 2013). In part this is because the theoretical framework of any research project profoundly shapes what is deemed worthy of questioning, how questions are asked, and how data is analysed. Therefore, engaging in Indigenist research necessitates outlining an epistemological approach based on Indigenous ways of knowing. Settler colonialism suggests that researchers rely on contextually based localised knowledge systems instead of relying on theories of Northern academics (Snow et al., 2015). Likewise, Indigenist researchers seek to minimise the likelihood of cognitive imperialism through applying localised knowledges (Battiste, 2013). Accordingly, my research design seeks to apply the Anishinaabe concept of relationality, which is outlined next.

Epistemology: Relationality

The majority of Indigenist scholars agree that Indigenous epistemology is based on relationality (Anderson, 2011; Hart, 2002; Lavallée, 2009; S. Wilson, 2003, 2008).

[60] As a caveat to the discussion about Indigenous knowledge systems, I recognise that knowledge systems of Indigenous people vary throughout the world and even within tribal groups. Thus, the use of the term Indigenous knowledges, in a plural form, is employed to acknowledge these differences.

Relationality is a theory which, "acknowledges the interconnectedness of the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects of individuals with all living things and with the earth…"(Lavellée, 2009, p. 23). For further clarification, relationality means that people interpret their place in the world through relationships. These relationships extend to include not just humans, but also the physical, and spiritual worlds. Moreover, relationality includes "interpersonal, intrapersonal, environmental, and spiritual relationships, and relationships with ideas" (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 74). Thus, in contrast to Northern thinking that often diminishes spiritualism, relationality frames the spiritual and physical worlds as irrevocably connected.

Various Anishinaabe scholars note that spirituality is central to knowledge acquisition because relationality includes one's relationship with ideas (Anderson, 2011; Hart, 2002; Johnston, 1982). Learning is considered to occur through personal and collective spiritual practices including dreams, visions, intuitions, and various ceremonies (Lavellée, 2009). The existence of the nonphysical world means that reality cannot be easily quantified. Researchers are "connected to community and to place, the relational aspects of communities, people, families, and their context" (Battiste, 2013, p. 74). Subsequently, research is not objective, but rather an interconnected journey involving relationships (Hart et al., 2017).

Relying on relationality allows for the critique of contextualised oppression which might remain uncovered from an interpretivist perspective (Ghai, 2012). Additionally, positivism is ill-suited for Indigenist research because power remains primarily with the researcher (Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996). Indeed, the dismissal of spirituality and the nonphysical world by both interpretivism and positivism makes these epistemologies inappropriate for this research (Battiste, 2013). In addition, constructivism purports that reality is socially constructed and calls on researchers to elicit a mutually constructed reality with their participants. This epistemology fails to align with my theoretical stance of settler colonialism because constructivism can obscure experiences of structural injustice, especially with cross-cultural research (Haig-Brown, 2001).

Next, my positionality is examined which is of paramount importance when applying relationality.

Positionality

Being a disabled researcher who was exploring conceptions of disability became a complicated positionality to navigate. Within the research context, my normally invisible

disability became visible. I am a type 1 diabetic meaning that I took a blood sample[61] at the beginning of each data collection interaction. Many of my Anishinaabe participants considered type 1 diabetes to be a dangerous disability.[62] As my Anishinaabe participants watched me manage fluctuating blood glucose levels, they regularly expressed fear and sadness for me. Conversely, the non-Anishinaabe teachers saw diabetes as an inconvenient but manageable health condition. This difference in perception of my able-bodied status exposes the intersection of disability and socioeconomic disparities. During my data collection, sharing that I have diabetes with the young people seemed to build a mutual ground to discuss their own challenges. The students referred to my diabetes as causing me to "walk between life and death" which made me a "kind soul." As such, my disability is part of this research and the data elicited could be considered more valuable because it exposes the contextual nature of understanding disability.

The result of my own experiences with a disability, I approach disability research as a penetrating and vulnerable expedition, which serves as the title for this chapter because I believe it reflects the essence of my methodological approach. In addition to seeing disability research as a "penetrating and vulnerable expedition," as I engaged with Indigenist research literature, I became increasingly aware of the sensitivity and care I needed in researching with Anishinaabe communities and youth.

Positionality is especially crucial for non-Indigenous researchers engaging in Indigenist research. The nature of cross-cultural relationships is such that it can easily replicate larger systems of oppression. Positionality impacts access to the field and shapes relationships with participants. Furthermore, research questions, processes, and findings are filtered through the researcher's worldviews (Berger, 2015). In qualitative research the researcher's positionality is often expressed by listing characteristics like gender, age, race, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, and prior affiliation with research participants (Berger, 2015; Pillow, 2010). This self-disclosure serves as a prerequisite to deconstructing the power dynamics in place in carrying out research (Macbeth, 2001).

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[61] Blood glucose readings are essential for the daily survival of individuals with Type 1 diabetes. These readings require a small blood sample usually from one's fingertips. The individual uses the reading to constantly adjust the amount of insulin and other medications they administer. Insulin levels impact a type 1 diabetic's cognitive abilities, sensory motor skills, mood, memory capacity, and eyesight. These symptoms result within minutes of shifting insulin levels. Administering an incorrect insulin dose could be fatal. Thus, my normally hidden disability becomes general public knowledge and part of every data collection interaction.

[62] Each of my Anishinaabe case study students had family members who suffered from diabetes. The lack of medical treatment leads to devastating long-term complications like amputations, blindness, adolescent heart failure, and nerve insensitivity. My Anishinaabe participants equated diabetes with shortened life expectancy and the continual risk of immediate death. My existence, as a type 1 diabetic in my late twenties, was an anomaly that contradicted their personal experiences with diabetes.

My own positionality includes attempting to be an Anishinaabe-ally, raised in rural Canada, secondary school teacher, female, with a disability. In the research field, all of these identities interact, making my positionality complex. The fluidity of positionality requires reflexivity concerning the possible influence these various positionalities have on any research interaction. As such, each of the above-mentioned characteristics will be deconstructed within my research locale.

In light of Canada's complex racial dynamics, Indigenous literature suggests that settler researchers seek to become allies. In line with this, I sought be an ally to the Anishinaabe communities involved in my research. As an ally, I recognise the unearned privileges structured into Canadian society of which I benefit. I need to constantly consider my own complicity in ongoing Indigenous oppression. However, in assuming this position, I fear that my various settler privileges could go unrealised undermining my attempt to be an Anishinaabe-ally (Tuck & Yang, 2012). This could lead to replicating colonial oppression within this research. Critiquing my own complicity and privilege involves realising that Indigenous oppression in Canada is "deeply embedded" within structures and often "seen as 'natural'… rather than as historically evolved social constructions" (Scheurich & Young, 1997, p. 7).

Indeed, thinking reflexively about the power dynamics involved in all of my relationships led to seeing everyday racism woven into the fabric of settler Canadian life (Regan, 2010). For example, I went into a restaurant on a field trip with SLSS students. None of the employees acknowledged the presence of the teenagers. However, I was noticed at the back of the group of students and the hostess said, "I can seat you. This group of teenagers is not our normal crowd." I explained that I was the teacher of "the group of teenagers" and we promptly left the restaurant. Sadly, these experiences of racism were not isolated to Riverside but extended into SLSS. For instance, when I explained my research to Nick, the head teacher, at SLSS, Nick, he responded, "Good luck with getting any parents to interview! Do Anishinaabe kids even have parents?" This comment was one of hundreds shared by white Riverside residents during my time in the field.[63]

My family's identity became a significant component of my positionality. After establishing that I grew up in this region, I noticed that each elder, would ask "who is your

[63] These comments by non-Indigenous residents of Riverside were very frequent. My reflections research journal documents my feelings of anger and disappointment towards settler residents. Many of these people are lifelong friends. During data collection, I experienced a heightened awareness of the subtle forms of settler racism. For example, my friends that worked in social services often made comments about saving Indigenous people from themselves. As time went on, I become increasingly isolated and lonely because I cut off interactions with most of my settler network.

grandfather?" Anishinaabe beliefs regarding relationality align with this desire to situate my identity (Anderson, 2011). This resulted in conversations about my family. My maternal great-great grandparents immigrated to this region from Scandinavia in the late 1800's. They settled in a sparsely populated region where they farmed, logged, and fished alongside Anishinaabe people. My grandfather and uncles have continued to work as fishermen and loggers. This meant that often elders and chiefs knew my family members. After explaining my family background, often the elders or chiefs would share a story about one of my family members. Also, the elders frequently knew of my mother and grandmother's work within Indigenous school programmes.

In addition, my aunt is a former Anishinaabe chief within this region and continues to be an activist for Indigenous self-governance. She is widely respected for her continual petitions to the federal government regarding funding inequalities in reserves. Her cultural teachings and activism inspired my interest in Indigenous education and remained a source of support throughout my research. My aunt supports my work through introducing me to Anishinaabe leaders, sending books, articles, and videos that explain Anishinaabe cultural beliefs. My family's relationships with Anishinaabe people seemed to cause elders and chiefs to consider me an ally.

My positionality as a teacher was complicated by Canada's deeply racialised history of Indigenous schooling. Often within the school setting, I was introduced as a teacher. In dealing with this positionality, I sought to align myself as a supporter of Anishinaabe self-governance over education. By stating the reserves that previously employed me, I was positioned as a long-term advocate of Indigenous youth. In addition, often former students of mine would introduce me to Anishinaabe leaders. My positionality as a teacher further assisted my research because many of my former students introduced me to elders within their reserves. Being introduced by my former students was significant because this situated me as a teacher that could be trusted.

My female participants seemed to relate to me as another female when misogynist stories were shared. Interestingly, male participants seemed comfortable sharing stories about previous trauma with me. Both of the male young people seemed comfortable sharing stories of their life because I was female. Jade explained, "I'm sort of happy you're a girl because some of this stuff is emotional and I can cry in front of you." This seems to imply that being a female made him feel more comfortable displaying emotions. Similarly, Cedar explained, "women are just easier to talk to for me…like I'm not really used to men being around."

The significance of reflexivity is apparent in negotiating my positionality and will be examined in the following section.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity attempts to tackle issues of representation while dealing with the authority and positionality of the researcher (Pillow, 2003). Similarly, considering the researcher's cultural identity and racial power dynamics is central to Indigenist research and applying settler colonialism. Reflexivity is meant to "advance understanding[*s*] of both the researcher and eventual readers about the nature of how past experiences and beliefs shape the ways in which stories are told" (Gordon, 2005, p. 280). Thus, reflexivity recognises one's self as central to a more accurate representation of the Other (Gordon, 2005).

However, reflexivity has been critiqued for producing self-indulgent accounts that fail to represent the Other as researchers regularly fail to address positionality alongside issues of representation (Lather, 1993). This is particularly significant for my research because, settler structures usually mask settler power and privilege (Battiste, 2013). The image of Canada as a progressive society that has overcome past racial injustice seems to mask the history of oppression and contemporary experiences of racial inequality (Battiste, 2013). Thus, settler researchers must recognise vestiges of settler domination and combat replicating these systems. As previously mentioned, my position as an Anishinaabe-ally necessitates reflexivity. In response, my doctoral research attempts to use reflexivity as a mindset underpinning the entire research process. For instance, my daily research journals frequently question the power dynamics of my research relationships.

Various practices can be used to promote reflexivity including; conducting a pilot study, keeping a research journal, consulting with my supervisor, meeting with gatekeepers, consulting Anishinaabe elders, and employing power-sharing data collection tools. However, these practices in and of themselves, do not ensure reflexivity, but rather encourage the researcher to investigate the power relationships embedded in one's research (Gordon, 2005).

I conducted a five-week pilot study in SLSS (depicted in Figure 3.3), using it reflexively to design this research. My pilot tested more than data collection tools by considering my adaptability to the research site (Fuller, 1993), my capability to balance tensions between local and institutional ethics (Kim, 2011), and to refine my data collection instruments (Robson, 2011). This pilot involved three male Anishinaabe secondary school students, their teachers, and a local chief. Data collection tools included a student photovoice project and semi-structured interviews. Lessons learned from my pilot study proved essential in the design of my main study. For example, discussions concerning consent during the pilot framed the consent procedures in my main study, which will be explained later in this chapter.

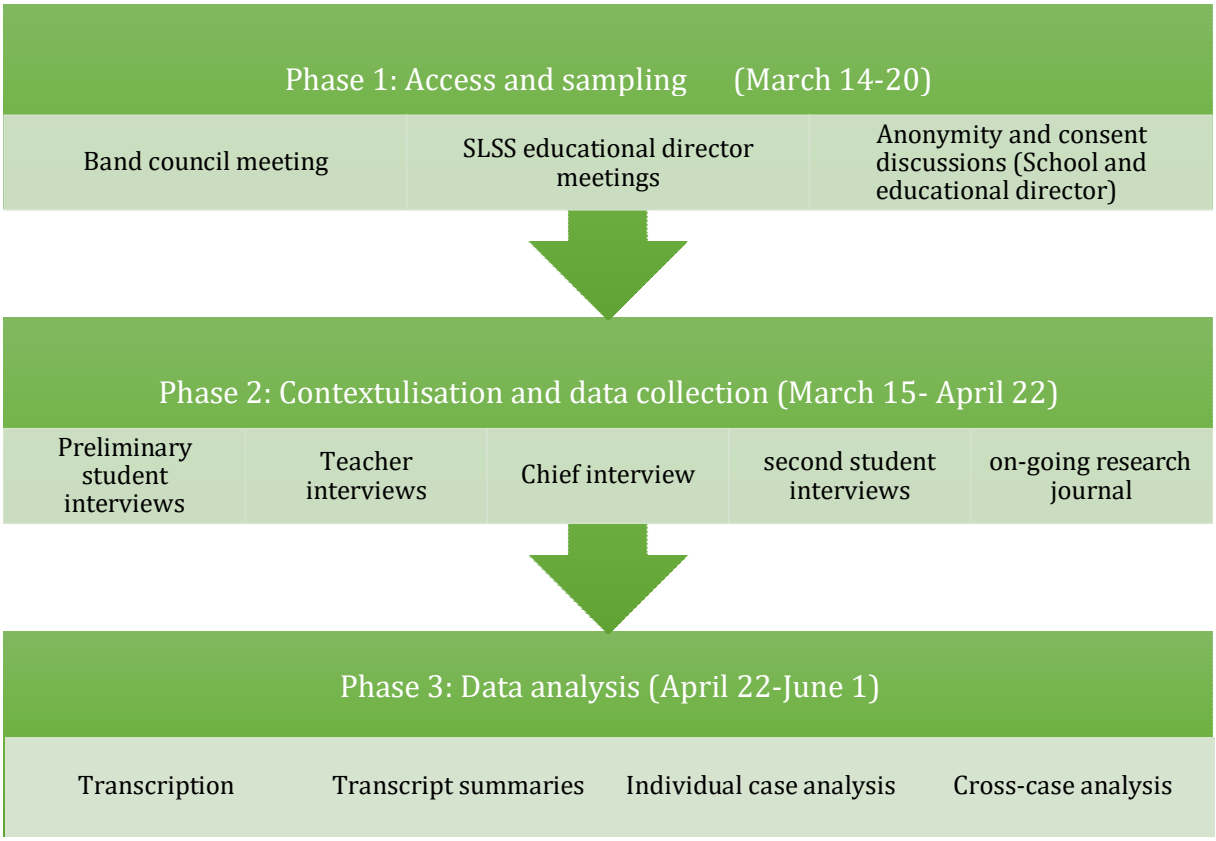


Figure 3.3: Pilot study design

Reflexivity assisted in realising when colonial power dynamics were being replicated in my research. For example, when reflexively considering access with the educational director, I realised I was considered an expert which prevented him from sharing his own opinions. The next time I met with the educational director and principal, I explained at length my desire to adhere to cultural practices. After this, he shared insights about localised ethical practices and ceremonies that went on to frame my research procedures. This corresponds with the Indigenist research tenet that contextual-based knowledge should inform research practices (Battiste, 2013).

Ethics of relational accountability

Differing conceptions of ethics have caused the research community to have a "huge credibility issue" with Indigenous peoples (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 118). Academia demonstrates cognitive imperialism when institutional ethical protocols assume that codes are universally understood and applicable (L. T. Smith, 2005b). Often, researchers blindly follow institutional ethics codes without challenging the assumptions at the base of these practices (Piquemal, 2001). Yet, ethics are rooted within cultural moral codes meaning that they vary between cultural groups (Piper & Simons, 2004). For instance, the North's ideas of individualism and private ownership are assumptions that frame most institutional ethics (L. T. Smith, 2005a).

Recently, institutions have started to amend their ethical codes to recognise the particular needs of Indigenous communities. The UNDRIP notes that in relation to research, researchers must respect the collective rights of Indigenous communities. In Canada, the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (2014)*, developed by Canada's three federal research agencies[64], includes a chapter on research involving Indigenous peoples outlining that community wellbeing and ownership should frame research ethics (Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics, 2014). Together these address the delegitimisation and ignorance of Indigenous ethical values in most institutional ethical protocols. However, a universal ethical code for research involving Indigenous peoples is not outlined by the Tri-Council Policy, because Indigenous scholars advocate for building on localised knowledges instead of homogenising groups and beliefs (L. T. Smith, 2005b). A formalised singular code could be seen as undermining Indigenous self-governance and denying tribal difference.

Developing localised ethical practices requires building reciprocal relationships with stakeholders, school administration, chiefs, and elders. Various Indigenous scholars believe that ethical research involving Indigenous peoples requires community consultation in developing appropriate ethical procedures (Anderson, 2011; Hart, 2002; S. Wilson, 2008). The significance of reciprocal relationships aligns with my epistemological stance of relationality. Commonly within Indigenous scholarship, researcher-community relationships are based the "three R's" of respect, reciprocity, and responsibility[65] (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; Piquemal, 2003; Snow et al., 2015; Weber-Pillwax, 2001). The grand council was aware of the "three R's" and decided that these ideas should guide my research. The researcher has the responsibility to engage in research that is respectful of Indigenous knowledges and that gives back to the community (Swartz, 2011).

These principles steered my research relationships and led to consultation regarding localised ethical practices. As such, each of these principles is discussed within the next three sections.

Respect

Building respectful research relationships involves questioning how the researcher can build relationships between herself, the participants, and her research topic (Weber-Pillwax,

[64]These federal agencies include, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

[65] Respect, reciprocity, and responsibility are often referred to as the "three R's" of ethical research involving Indigenous peoples (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991).

1999). The Indigenist research principle of applying localised knowledges means that research procedures should align with cultural practices. Any research involving Indigenous communities should seek to respect how knowledge is gained and shared (Styres, Zinga, Bennett, & Bomberry, 2010). Respect in my research was demonstrated by embracing relationality which includes honouring spirituality as inseparable in the process of acquiring knowledge (Battiste, 2013). For example, the Anishinaabe communities involved in my research believe that knowledge is sacred and should be passed down by the elder designated as the keeper (Piquemal, 2001). The principal facilitated my discussions with the elders who were considered the keepers of information regarding learning and youth.

Respect for Anishinaabe knowledges in my research locale included my participation in Anishinaabe spiritual traditions and practices that usually accompany learning. For example, when an individual seeks counsel from an elder or chief, gifts are brought to as a symbol of respect. These gifts are sacred medicines like sage, sweetgrass, tobacco, and cedar. Each time I met an elder, I presented this individual with a bundle of tobacco. This practice was considered a sign of respect not only for the elder but also for Anishinaabe ways of knowing. This inclusion of local learning practices is one example of the attempts I made to include local knowledges. Moreover, my attempt to include Indigenous theoretical frameworks and methods demonstrates building respectful relationships between myself and the Anishinaabe communities involved.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity refers to the Indigenist research tenet of conducting research that gives back to the communities and individuals involved (Lather, 1986b). Considering the reciprocity of one's research means examining the extent and manner in which participants benefit from participating in the research (L. T. Smith, 1999). Implementing reciprocity into the research design could include using power sharing methods like photovoice (Swartz, 2011).

In determining reciprocity, researchers should "ask participants what *they* want from the process and from the researchers rather than assume what *they* need" (Swartz, 2011, p. 62 italics added). However, the 'they' referred to most likely means the individual participants instead of the collective. Indigenous scholars caution that consulting with participants regarding reciprocity often inappropriately excludes the collective interests (Jordan, 2003). Therefore, in my research reciprocity at the collective level must also be considered, which often involves promoting community sovereignty and valuing Indigenous worldviews (Coram, 2011). Attempting to promote community sovereignty in my research led to extended

local consultation regarding ethical codes, access, and talking with the appropriate community elders. In most Anishinaabe reserves, elders have specific roles and sets of knowledge. I was directed by the grand council to the elders who were considered to have knowledge and responsibility related to youth in their communities. As demonstrated in chapter 2, my research attempted to value Indigenous worldviews by relying on Indigenous scholars and including theories deriving from Indigenous worldviews.

Collective reciprocity could also involve dissemination activities that reach not only to reserve leaders, but to the community at large (Higgins, 2014). Community consultation is necessary in attempting to offer community reciprocity. The young people-organised powwow[66] photovoice exhibit that occurred as part of my research, which is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, could be deemed a form of collective reciprocity.

Responsibility

Research has a history of representing Indigenous peoples in a manner that is "disembodied, decontextualized, ahistorical, and transpersonal" (Madden, Higgins, & Korteweg, 2013, p. 221). This causes research to be considered "one of the dirtiest words" to Indigenous peoples (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 1). The result is that, researchers have the responsibility to question whom to represent in research. In my research, I am accountable to the young people and their reserves. With research involving Indigenous peoples, the obligation to the communities involved extends beyond formal research timelines meaning researchers could have life-long relationships and be available to reserves in the future[67] (Lavallée, 2009).

The obligation to be accountable to individual participants and Indigenous communities requires navigating representing the individual and the collective. Within my research, I attempted to honour collectivism by gaining the consent of the Anishinaabe governing bodies within my research site. The literature concerning Indigenous research repeatedly promotes reconceptualising the dichotomy between the individual and community by seeking to present "voices that are both individualistic as well as communal" (Higgins,

[66] Powwows are spiritual celebrations, usually open to the general public, that showcase Indigenous music, dancing, regalia, and food. Usually hosted by reserves, powwows serves an important role in honouring Indigenous cultures and celebrating evolving cultural practices.

[67] The elders, educational director, and research participants have contacted me frequently since leaving the field. The elders involved in my research pointed me to opportunities like teaching a university course to Anishinaabe student teachers and Canadian research conferences. I continue to receive letters and photos in the post and on email from the young people and family member participants. Often, they are sharing important life events like births and first jobs.

2014, p. 214). Nevertheless, the practicalities of transcending this dichotomy are not discussed (Castleden, Garvin, & First Nation, 2008). Indeed, representing the collective could at times be challenging because some of SLSS's students were excluded in various ways within their reserve communities.[68]

The challenges arising out of attempts to navigate collective and individual representation, problematise establishing voluntary and informed consent, will be examined next.

Collective and individual consent: Circular consent

Institutional ethics codes normally describe voluntary and informed consent as an essential ethical practice which involves providing information concerning the participants' involvement, the research purpose, potential risks, and possible benefits (British Educational Research Association, 2011; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2010). Likewise, the UNDRIP affirms that Indigenous peoples and communities have the right to free, prior, and informed consent for any project affecting their people and resources. However, the means of gaining informed consent outlined in institutional ethics protocols are not necessarily always workable in every research setting (Punch, 1994). Thus, cross-cultural research often calls for consent practices that are "contextualised and grounded in particular cultures" (Piquemal, 2001, p. 70). Often non-Indigenous researchers fail to understand the processes of gaining consent within Indigenous communities and rely on formalised written consent (Piquemal, 2000). Fostering respectful relationships was at the core of my consent procedures. As such, consent was required on the individual and collective level. Appealing to both the collective and the individual participants embodies building trusting relationships through promoting Anishinaabe ways of knowing.

Gaining collective consent requires a thorough understanding of Anishinaabe governance structures. The various levels of leadership involved in the consent process is depicted below in Figure 3.4. The grand council overseas a larger area designated by the federal government.

[68] For example, a student was shunned by his community as punishment for his involvement in an accident that resulted in the death of his cousin. This student was not one of the case studies. However, had he participated, the balancing of the collective and individual would have been challenging.

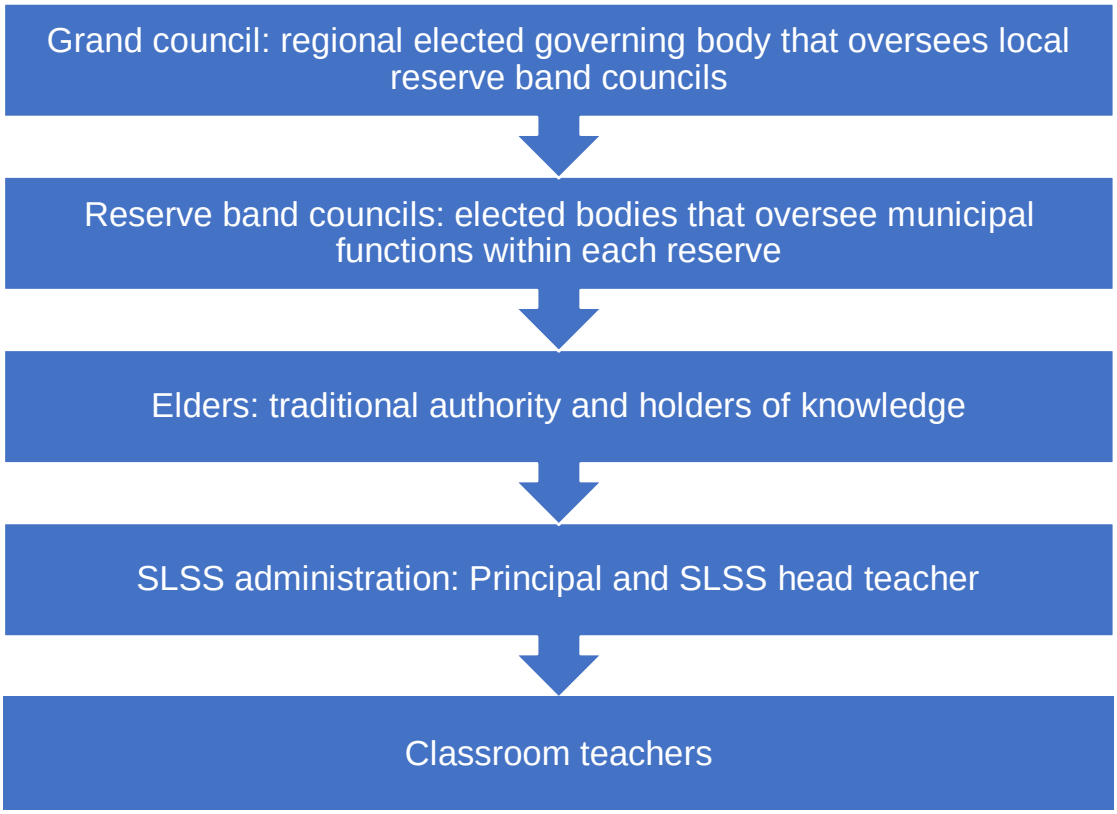


Figure 3.4: Gaining consent

The reserve band council oversees all local systems and necessary services within the community. As such, ensuring collective consent relied on negotiating with leaders at each level of the Anishinaabe leadership. In addition, I also gained consent from the various levels of SLSS's administration.

At the end of my pilot, via the introduction made by the educational director, I met with the grand council to explain my research. During this informal meeting, the grand chief[69] asked me about my family in the region. My reputation as a teacher caused him to approve of my research. He then discussed the purposes of my research with the other grand council members. After that meeting, I was told to work out the details of my project with the reserve band councils, who had previously approved my MPhil research.

Gaining the approval from the regional band council meant that each of the local band councils also agreed to the research. The principal of SLSS, a teacher, and the educational director contacted the regional band council on my behalf. During the first few weeks, members of the council visited me at SLSS. These regional band council members asked questions about my research and my family. At this point, the reserve band council members introduced me to various elders for the purpose of "sharing teachings about teenagers, schools, and learning." This process of introducing me to elders was informal but crucial to

[69] Grand chief refers to the regionally elected official that oversees the grand council.

gaining the collective consent needed for my project. It also aligned with the Indigenist research belief of honouring traditional knowledge by involving the governing and spiritual leaders in these communities. Indeed, some of these elders ended up being interviewed as part of my data collection process.

The reserve band councils approved my research and directed me to report to the principal of SLSS for the remainder of my research. Trying to engage in specific discussions concerning ethical practices like third party consent and anonymity seemed to make the band council feel uncomfortable. It seemed that for the local band council members "consent is not so much given for a project or specific set of questions, but for a person, for their credibility" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 137). My specific questions about ethics and research methods caused one band council member to remark "Do what you and the teachers see as best. We know you and trust you." This aligns with the idea of Indigenist ethics being based on relational accountability. As such, discussions regarding ethical protocol were assigned to the school level.

Obtaining consent on the individual level included having the students and guardians sign written consent forms alongside engaging in oral consent. I hoped to steer away from the use of written consent forms as a way of being culturally sensitive in light of written colonial treaties (Robinson-Pant, 2005). Yet, in the pilot my position as a non-Indigenous researcher complicated my consent procedures. The principal explained, that SLSS "uses consent forms because the parents expect it from white teachers and professionals—Even though they usually can't read them." Therefore, it was determined that written[70] and verbal consent would be used in my research (See Appendices A-E).

Research involving young people with disabilities often involves applying additional means of obtaining consent. Researchers regularly rely on gaining consent from the significant individuals in the person with a disability's life (Nind, 2008). However, these individuals may perpetuate restrictions on the young person's opportunities to make choices (Harris, 2003). Additionally, within disability literature, gaining consent often focuses on assessing an individual's capacity to provide consent (Nind, 2008). Problematically, measuring capacity assumes that capacity is fixed and fails to consider ways of increasing one's capacity to consent (Parsons, Sherwood, & Abbott, 2016). This could be done by using symbols (Nind, 2008), role playing (Booth & Booth, 2003), video presentations (Dunn et al., 2006), or simplifying the information (Parsons et al., 2016). In my research, I used a PowerPoint presentation with widely known images and videos to explain my research project

[70] Guardians were only required to sign written consent forms for participants under the age of 18.

(See Appendix F). The PowerPoint presentation was done one-on-one with each of SLSS's students. Doing this allowed me to accommodate to the various learning needs of the students.

Circular consent is a strategy of enhancing the participants' capacity to understand the research and their roles in the research. Circular consent derives from the "complexity of research demanding different forms of consent…depending on the stage and nature of research" (Sin, 2005, p. 281). This practice involves presenting information in relevant sections since absorbing bits of information overtime can increase one's ability to consent (Wong, Clare, Holland, Watson, & Gunn, 2000). Indigenous researchers commonly define consent as "not just a contract; it is an ongoing process of renegotiation" (Piquemal, 2000, p. 51). My various stages of consent are graphically displayed in Figure 3.5.

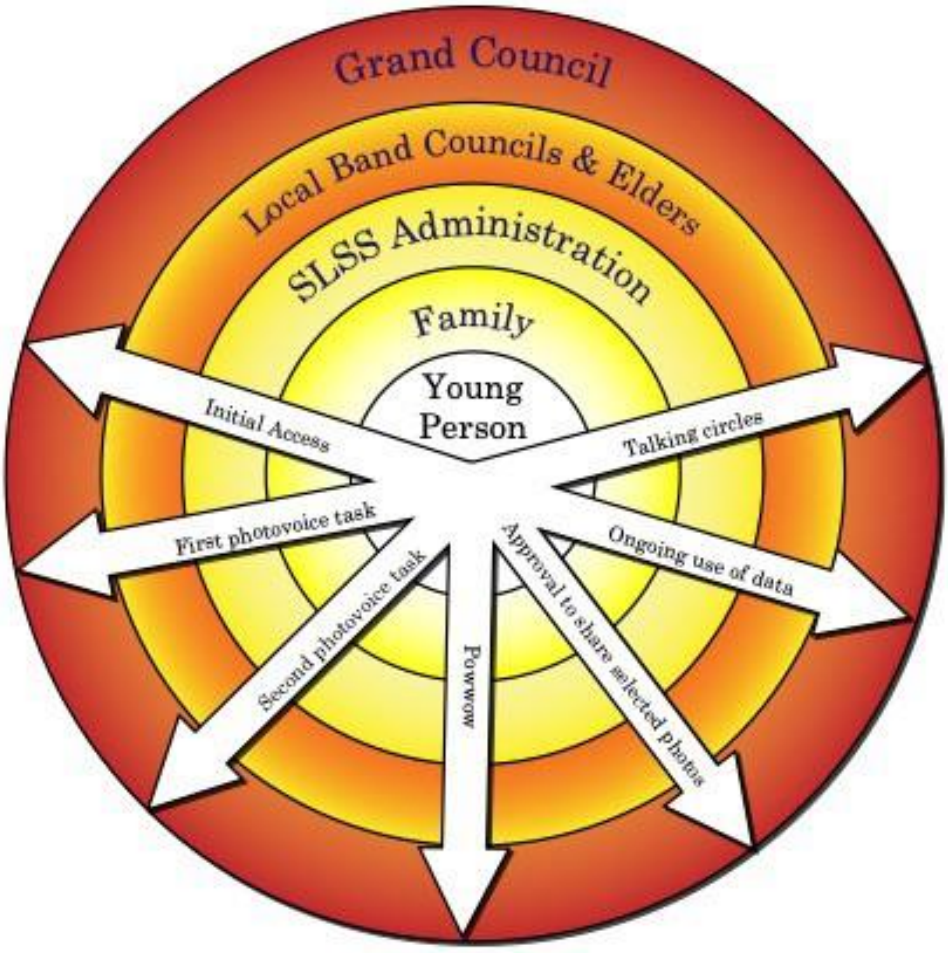


Figure 3.5: Circular Consent

Brooks and Davies' (2008) research involving adults with intellectual disabilities utilised circular consent and found that their participants' understanding of the project developed as the research persisted. Likewise, Cedar explained that the circular consent process meant he "always knew what was happening next and how it was part of the other things [*research activities*]."

Using circular consent with the students was effective on the procedural level, and helped students consider consent beyond the research context. Unintended consequences stemming from notions of consent took a form of its own as the young people began to reflect on what consent means in other aspects of their lives. For example, after going through the circular consent process for 3 months, where I checked her understanding of consent, making it central to the entire research practice, Iris applied her understanding of consent to her own life. My research journal field notes recorded that Iris said that "if people in" her "photos have control over the use of the photos" then she "must have control how people treated" her body. Teaching about consent seemed to assist both Amelia and Iris in evaluating past situations of sexual abuse.[71]

In the main study, once I received the signed permission slips, I went to visit the families of my participants prior to beginning the next stage of the research as outlined in the circular consent scripts found in Appendices A-D. During these visits, informal conversations concerning the subsequent stages of consent for my ongoing research occurred. I made frequent contact with family members concerning the subsequent stages of my research. Since Iris was over 18- years-old, her father's involvement in the circular consent procedures was not necessary. However, Iris invited him to sign the form as a symbol of "respect for his role" as her father. Consequently, I included Iris' father in my circular consent procedures.

Anonymity and confidentiality

In institutional ethics, anonymity and confidentiality are usually treated as default positions for researchers. Yet, Indigenist research commonly claims that decolonising research practices includes allowing Indigenous communities to reject anonymity (Castleden et al., 2008). The result of all this is that decisions concerning anonymity and confidentiality in my research were complex and required deliberation.

Formal and informal discussions during my pilot study and main study revealed the contextual nature of anonymity practices. For my pilot study, the communities, school, and individuals involved were referred to by pseudonyms. However, some members of the regional band council expressed interest in rejecting anonymity during the main study. During informal meetings concerning my main study, I probed the reasons some regional tribal council members favoured rejecting anonymity. One tribal council member stated, "By being named in the research, the community can use it as proof to change things. Plus, I heard from

[71] The sexual abuse reported to me during the research had all been previously reported to the police. The specificities concerning sexual abuse will be discussed within chapter 4.

my friend that her community in Alberta[72] was named in research." Correspondingly, the rejection of anonymity has become more common in research involving Indigenous peoples, because it parallels self-governance ideas by encouraging community ownership over the process, data, and dissemination (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010).

Discussions concerning anonymity exposed the difficulties and issues of applying anonymity in my research. Some Indigenous scholars caution that anonymity threatens control over one's identity and history which is central to Indigenous self-governance (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010). For instance, anonymity could be considered an example of Northern paternalism that sets Indigenous communities as a vulnerable group that needs protection (L. T. Smith, 1999). Likewise, the UNDRIP (2011) outlines that Indigenous communities have the right to self-determination instead of being assumed to be a vulnerable group. In addition, presenting Indigenous peoples as nameless could be considered reminiscent of colonial practices (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010). Anonymity can cause Indigenous peoples and communities to disappear (M. Evans, 2004) or be represented as a homogenised group (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Indeed, the principal of SLSS explained that, "The school and community should be named [*in this research*] because it shows that we are proud of our history, community, and students." The idea that names correspond with pride could in part find its origins in the Anishinaabe beliefs that names are often spiritual and have deep meaning (W. A. Wilson, 2004).

When considering rejecting anonymity for the main study, I worried that the information the young people could share might have harmful consequences. My research topic involves discussing sensitive behaviours and issues. For example, when discussing daily activities the young people described self-harm, suicide attempts, sexual abuse, physical abuse, incarceration, police abuse, and murdered Indigenous women. In addition, the sensitive nature of discussing disability causes disability researchers to normally designate anonymity as a central practice that protects disabled participants (Jurkowski, 2008a).

Attempting to reconcile the regional band council's desire to reject anonymity while protecting the young peoples' anonymity demonstrates the practical difficulties of representing individuals and communities. While deliberating on how to navigate anonymity, I had an invaluable discussion with one of the young people from my pilot study. He commented that he liked being in my pilot research because he felt like he "could say how things really were since no one would exactly know" his identity. He thought anonymity was important because "things will only get better if people feel safe saying what's really

[72] Alberta is a western province in Canada.

happening." I shared this young person's reflection with the principal after which all discussions concerning rejecting anonymity ceased. The principal explained this decision as, "being about balancing what is important and hearing the students [*is*] most important because they [*have*] a really hard time in life." Rejecting anonymity aligned with the band councils' goals, however, protecting individuals was determined more significant.

Therefore, in my research this is upheld. The school, community, and individual participants are referred to with pseudonyms. The pseudonyms were assigned randomly based on a list of names the young people generated for people and locations. Anonymity in this rural location can be considered tokenistic because individuals within the reserves were aware of my research. However, SLSS's access requirements, described later in the chapter, included conducting school-wide activities and tutoring students made it difficult for peers, teachers, and community members to distinguish which individuals were official participants. In addition, I volunteered within SLSS's sister secondary school[73] to assist in providing anonymity to my participants and the exact school location. The use of participant-generated photos meant that levels of anonymity were offered for specific stages of the research. Some of the young people decided to display photos with their faces at the Powwow, however, the majority preferred to remain anonymous at the Powwow. As such, they choose photos that maintained their anonymity. Decisions regarding anonymity were discussed as part of the ongoing circular consent process (Appendix A).

To maintain confidentiality, information from the individuals' interviews was not shared with school professionals unless safeguarding issues arose. I was aware of the process of reporting safeguarding issues and whom to contact for support. Confidentiality was also discussed during the talking circles.[74] The concept of confidentiality seemed to align with the Anishinaabe belief that stories are sacred and should only be shared with the consent of the individual that told the story. For instance, the principal explained, "although anonymity and consent seem pointless to me, confidentiality is like the Anishinaabe belief that we respect how we share another's story."

[73] This school was located within a reserve with no road access. I travelled to this school via a boat in the warmer months. During winter, I drove across the ice on a temporary road. This school had a handful of students that I tutored. Originally, this school was considered as a research locale, however, the dangerous travelling circumstances caused the locale to be limited to SLSS.

[74] Talking circles are an Anishinaabe means of facilitating group discussions (Hart, 1996). Talking circles can be used to resolve conflicts, seek healing, or worship the Creator. The young people were aware that members of the talking circle could breach confidentiality.

Well-being

Well-being of the young people was central to this research. After discussions with the principal concerning the emotionally strenuous topics that would likely come up during the research, we planned to promote the well-being of the young people. Before my pilot, I reached out to the free local youth counselling services and collected relevant contact information. These free counselling services provided pamphlets to give to the young people and posters to put on display in both of the classrooms. In addition, I encouraged the young people to meet with their elders.

The topics discussed in my research are sensitive, thus, my circular consent scripts monitored well-being (Appendices A-D). To help promote student well-being, I checked that the young people's expectations for the research were reasonable. This was done by explaining the timeline and outlining the benefits of participating. As part of maintaining well-being, the principal was adamant that my data collection ended with a sense of closure for the students. Therefore, my data collection was completed before their summer holiday.[75] The young person-designed powwow featuring a selection of the photovoice photos also facilitated a sense of closure at the end of the fieldwork. The powwow is explained later in this chapter.

Before beginning data collection for my main study, my well-being as a researcher was largely unconsidered. Monitoring my well-being included taking a break half-way through my time in the field and having regular contact with my supervisor. However, my pilot did not prepare me for the mental health challenges resulting from extended time in the field. During this time period, I built strong relationships and witnessed some of the hardships facing the young people. The emotional hardships associated with working with survivors of Residential schooling, victims of sexual violence[76], and physical abuse became daunting. Indeed immersion in the field became overwhelming as various types of violence surrounded each of the young people.

I started to exhibit symptoms of secondary trauma where I replayed my participants trauma in the form of thoughts, feelings, and images (Coles, Astbury, Dartnall, & Limjerwala, 2014). It became difficult to sleep because of nightmares playing out events shared by my participants. This emotional hardship was compounded by feelings of anger in response to the

[75] Many of the students are inaccessible during the summer because of semi-nomadic living resulting from hunting, fishing, and gathering activities.

[76] During the pilot, a teenage Anishinaabe woman from one of the reserves involved in this research disappeared. Some of the students at SLSS lived with the missing woman and were relatives. At the beginning of my main study, this woman was found murdered.

apathy of many of my settler friends, family members, and associates concerning the difficulties faced by Indigenous peoples.

I accessed a counsellor in the field who helped me employ coping mechanisms. This included journaling in my reflection research journal, explained later in this chapter. Journaling helped me to recognise emotional distress and access additional help. The trauma was such that I had to stop transcribing the interviews during my fieldwork as listening to the interviews became too overwhelming. Consequently, for the duration of the data analysis and writing up stages I continued to see a counsellor to discuss issues surrounding secondary trauma.

Multisite case study

Initially, I considered an ethnographic design, but aspects of ethnography were incongruent with an Indigenist research paradigm. For instance, the purpose of ethnographic inquiry is usually to render detailed descriptions of events or cultures which "stand in their own right" without considering " what the broader implications might be" (Denscombe, 2011, p. 84). This detachment from larger structural factors is incongruent with the theoretical stance of relationality used in this research. In addition, Indigenist research is committed to seeing research as an intervention which opposes ethnography's idea of ecological validity wherein researchers avoid disrupting the field and attempt to preserve the natural state of affairs (Cervone, 2007). Therefore, instead of an ethnographic study, I designed a multisite case study.

Case studies provide a holistic account of a particular setting by drawing on the historical background, physical setting, and political situation (Stake, 2000). By utilising various data sources and methods, case studies explore the subtleties of social situations. In comparison to surveys, case studies provide in-depth analysis at the expense of statistical generalisability (Hammersley, 1992). In contrast to experiments, case studies are less likely to determine causal relationships. However, case study research is criticised for not being generalisable. The purpose of case study research is to understand "what is important about the case within its own world" (Stake, 2000, p. 439).

In my research, a case is defined as an individual young person at SLSS. Within the last two years, each of the young people had accessed special education programming within a provincial secondary school. Each young person had different experiences and challenges within school settings. Although defining the school as the case might have assisted in analysing systems of oppression, the voices of the young people needed to remain central.

SLSS mainly employs non-Indigenous teachers[77]. Therefore, defining the school as my case could make it difficult to explore Anishinaabe conceptions of disability because the Anishinaabe young people's views might not have been as apparent. Moreover, considering each student to be a case aligned with SLSS's individualised programming, as well as the heterogeneity of experiences of being disabled, particularly given that each participant had a different type of disability. Defining the individual as the case also assisted in balancing the representation of the individual and the collective, which is a tenet of Indigenist research.

A multisite case study includes several cases "to develop a more in-depth understanding of the phenomena than a single case can provide" (Chmiliar, 2010, p. 582). Thus, generalisation is not the purpose of having multiple cases (Yin, 1994). Indeed its strength is derived from the variation across multiple cases, which provide the material for compelling interpretations (Merriam, 1998). Data in multisite case studies is analysed within individual cases and then analysed across cases. The approach satisfies the representation of both the individual and the collective. Furthermore, aligning with Indigenist research, cross-case analysis encourages analysing structural issues. Data analysis is explored in detail later in this chapter.

Sampling

The young people were selected from SLSS using the criterion that they had each accessed special education programme within the preceding two years while attending provincial secondary schools. SLSS provided the ideal locale in which to examine Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, because this school actively rejected provincial school special education curricula. Each student enrolled at SLSS had had lived experiences within provincial schools that adhered to Northern-based notions of disability.

During the first two weeks of my main study, I showed each student a short PowerPoint presentation and video that explained photovoice and provided an overview of my project (Appendix F). I talked to each of the 31 students individually, so I could adapt the presentation to their learning needs. The independent-study model of SLSS means that the students are not habituated to taught lessons or engaging in full classroom discussions. SLSS's access requirement stipulated that I should invite every secondary student to participate, which I did.

Seven permission slips were returned within three days of discussing the project (Appendix E). However, within a week one of the male students was no longer interested in

[77] As previously mentioned (p.19), SLSS employs three secondary school teachers, two of which were non-Indigenous.

participating. Therefore, my sample included two male students and four female students ranging from 15-19 years old.[78] Each of the cases is depicted in Figure 3.6. Each of the six students finished the project, although they faced challenging life situations that often interrupted their school attendance. Even though Raven gave birth, followed by a two-month absence from school, she completed all of the stages of data collection.

Figure 3.6: Multiple cases

The sampling for the family member interviews aligns with the ethics of relational accountability by allowing the students to decide whom I would interview as a family member. Figure 3.6 shows each of the family members the young people chose. Indigenous scholars widely discuss employing sampling that acknowledges diverse concepts of families (Battiste, 1998). Often in reserves, young people have various caregivers. However, Cedar and Raven selected family members who were unable to be interviewed as a result of repeated intoxication, as depicted in Figure 3.6. After a few attempts, I realised that both of the young people were embarrassed. At this point, I stopped arranging additional meetings with these family members.

Sampling of the elders was directed by the principal who arranged meetings with the elders holding the authority to discuss knowledge related to my research. For ease of reading, all of the research participants are shown in the glossary of participants (p.xiv).

[78] During the pilot, I realised that SLSS has students with a wide age range. In Anishinaabe culture age is not considered a distinguishing characteristic. The teachers and school administrators were unaware of the exact ages of the students. At SLSS there is no official cut-off age for enrolment.

Access

After gaining the consent of the grand council, reserve band councils, and the school administrators the details of my access included:

1) Tutoring high school students for half of the school day five days a week.
2) Volunteering in the primary classrooms a few times a month.
3) Including the entire primary and secondary school in part of the research.
4) Allowing any secondary school student who expressed interest to participate as a case.

Meeting these access requirements helped to build rapport with the school, and enhanced the quality of my research. Indigenist research also notes that negotiating collective consent should validate Indigenous self-governance (Snow et al., 2015). I was able to perform my research activities alongside meeting the school's requirements. Each of my case study students signed up for tutoring, which provided additional time to build strong relationships with each of the case study young people. In addition, tutoring SLSS students proved invaluable in exploring the school context and peer relationships. Volunteering in the elementary classes enabled the entire school to feel comfortable having me in the building. In alignment with the access requirement of including the entire primary and secondary school, I ran an art project with the elementary classes that was displayed at the powwow. This meant that the entire school was significantly involved in the final display, which fulfilled SLSS's third access requirement.

Indigenous literature often suggests that researchers should assist communities in designing ethics protocols that reduce the likelihood of future exploitative research (Battiste, 2008; Coram, 2011; L. T. Smith, 2005b). Consequently, my discussions regarding access have already been significant in influencing the grand council and the local band councils' approval process and views of research.[79] The political situation of these Anishinaabe communities is in flux causing access to be a tenuous issue. There are frequent reserve band council elections resulting from the requirement for the council to function with unanimity. As such, I prepared for the event that I would need to re-gain access at the reserve band council level. The young people came from various communities. As such, my research could continue should access be withdrawn from one local band council. Fortunately, none of the six reserves where my participants lived underwent a re-election. Similarly, I had contingency

[79] Towards the end of my data collection, the grand council was approached by a graduate student seeking to conduct research with Anishinaabe children. After one meeting, the grand council deemed that the research would not be allowed because the researcher was unwilling to include Anishinaabe beliefs concerning collective consent.

plans involving communities in different tribal regions had I lost access at the grand council level. However, none of these contingency plans were employed during my fieldwork because each of the levels of government remained in power.[80]

Methods

My research design aims to use tools that are likely to answer my research questions and uphold my ethical commitments (Swartz, 2011). The methods I used to probe my research questions are outlined in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Principle data sources and research questions

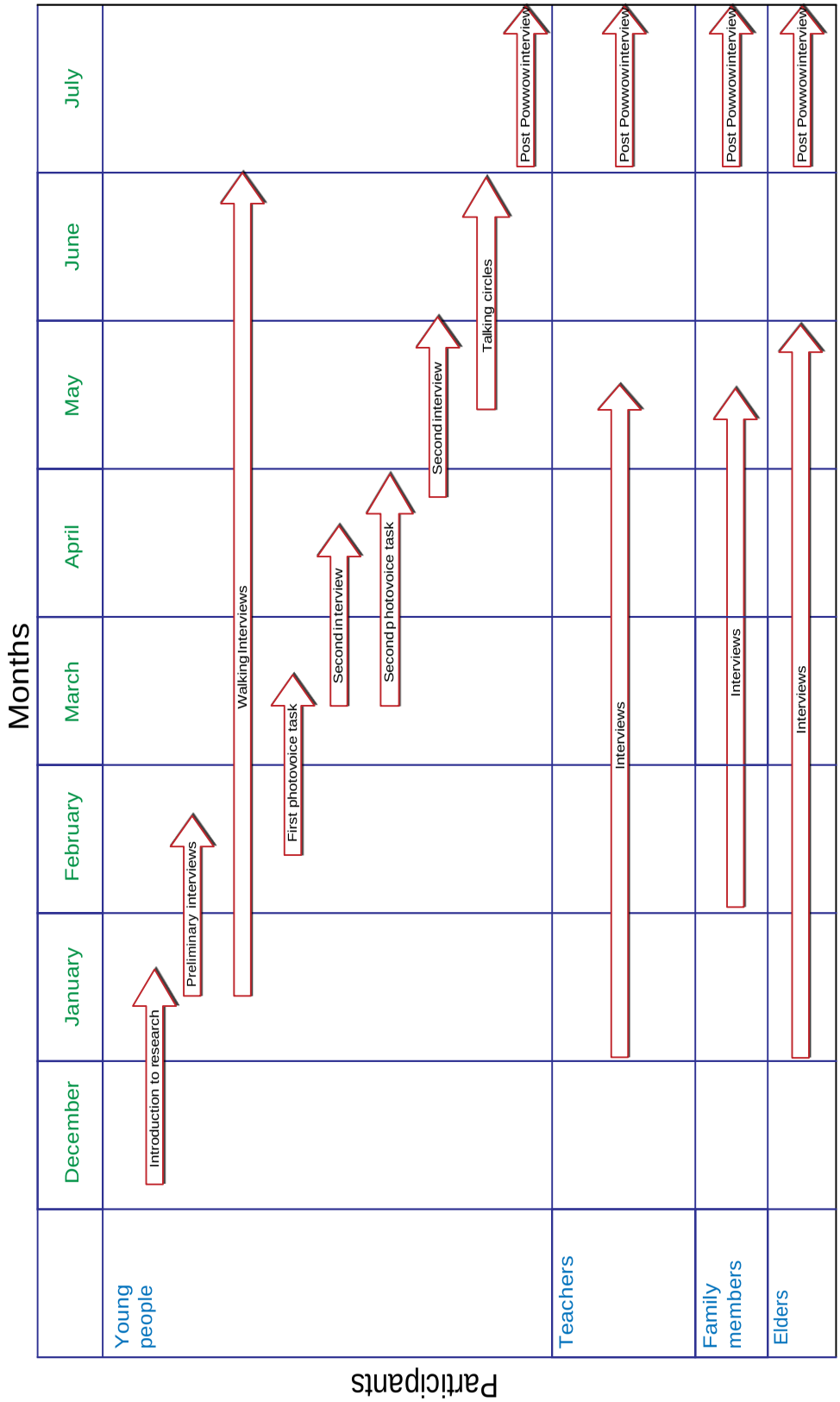
Principle sources of data					
	Semi-structured interviews	Photovoice	Talking circles	Research journal	Walking interviews
Research Question 1	✓	✓			✓
Research Question 2	✓			✓	
Research Question 3 Students	✓		✓	✓	

Indigenist research seeks to apply methods in a reflexive manner with attention to localised knowledges (Snow et al., 2015). Corresponding, with Indigenist research's principle of challenging the researcher's power by implementing culturally-based data collection, the following sections and subsections detail my methods. The process of discovering and implementing these tools is also explained. The chronology of my data collection process is represented graphically in Table 3.2.

Next, my use of photovoice is examined.

[80] Although the political situation remained the same throughout my fieldwork, this situation could change during the next year. Meaning that my on-going dissemination procedures may require alteration to meet the needs of the newly-elected government bodies.

Table 3.2: Chronology of data collection



Photovoice

Photovoice was developed by Wang and Burris (1994) to study the health of women in China. Photovoice was used as a way to conduct a community needs assessment, participatory evaluation, and to communicate with policy makers. It is considered a participatory research method where individuals take photographs that visualise the research topic. These photographs are usually supplemented by individual interviews and focus group data. Wang and Burris (1997) purport that participants taking photographs of their own reality can become a catalyst for social change. Booth and Booth (2003) outlined the stages of photovoice, which are depicted in Figure 3.6.

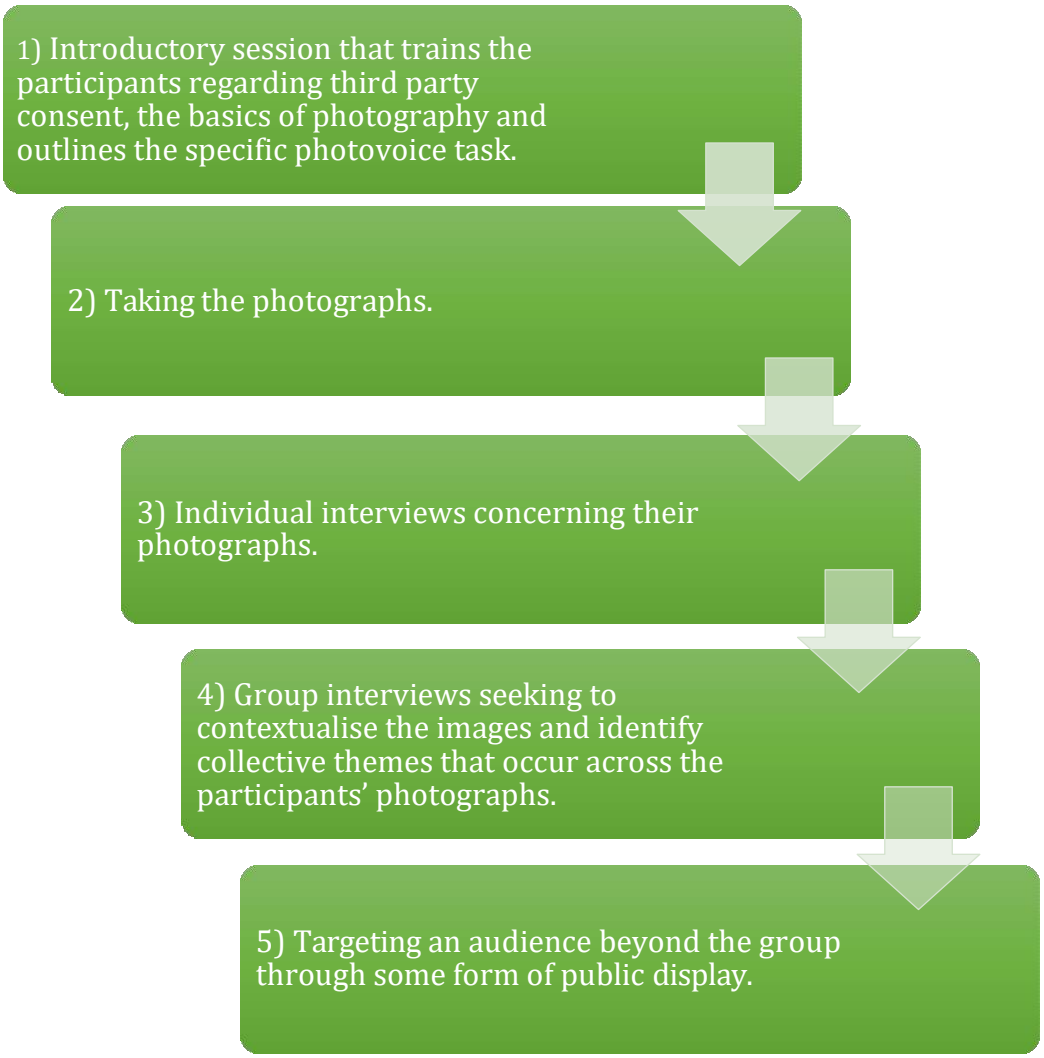


Figure 3.7: Phases of photovoice

Wang and Burris (1994) acknowledge that this method has three key theoretical influences, which are Freire's (1973) critical education concept, feminist theory, and documentary photography. Freire's concept of education for critical consciousness (1973) enables individuals to find important issues in their daily lives and then critically reflect as a

group or community concerning solutions to these issues (Povee, Bishop, & Roberts, 2014). Photovoice's commitment to subjective experience and participatory methods derives from feminist theory by seeking to enable situations where oppressed groups can gain power and facilitate social change (Booth & Booth, 2003; Povee et al., 2014). Documentary photography's idea that there is a lack of knowledge concerning minority groups and thus uses photographs to inspire social consciousness also influences photovoice. However, documentary photography varies from photovoice because in photovoice participants are generating their own photos. Considering these theoretical underpinnings, photovoice is often used to research the experiences of individuals experiencing oppression. For instance, photovoice research has occurred with people who are homeless (Wang, Cash, & Powers, 2000), people with human immunodeficiency viruses (HIV) (Hergenrather, Rhodes, & Clark, 2006), female youth immigrants (Ingram, 2014), and African American individuals in poverty (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004).

Photovoice has been used to research the experiences of individuals with disabilities. For example, Booth and Booth (2003) collaborated with 16 mothers with learning disabilities to explore what mattered most in their lives. Photovoice was also employed in a project examining the social inclusion of individuals with autism within a community (Brake, Schleien, Miller, & Walton, 2012). Photovoice research with disabled individuals often claims to benefit the individuals by promoting decision making, learning new skills, and encouraging social skill development through participating in group discussions (Schleien, Brake, Miller, & Walton, 2013).

Photovoice has been applied to disability research with CLD adults (Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007). In relation to my research involving Anishinaabe youth, there are several studies involving First Nations peoples and communities that have employed photovoice. Poudrier and Mac-Lean's (2009) research used photovoice with Indigenous women who were survivors of breast cancer. Shea, Poudrier, Chad, and Atcheynum (2011) used photovoice to explore First Nations girls' understandings of healthy lifestyles. More recently, Jennings and Lowe's (2013) research concerning avoiding substance abuse with Native American children used photovoice. There is an ongoing community-based photovoice project that is exploring the lived experiences of First Nations mothers with children that had FAS/FASD (Canada FASD Research Network & Bady, 2014). However, some Indigenous researchers criticise that "photovoice projects often centre deficit narratives rather than, or in addition to, much needed stories of survival and resilience" (Higgins, 2014, p. 209). As such, some scholars suggest than when used with Indigenous peoples photovoice should be reworked to include the collective voice of the community and involve prolonged fieldwork to build community

rapport (Castleden et al., 2008; Mike Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, & Sookraj, 2009; Higgins, 2014). Therefore, my data collection included contextualising the young people within their reserves through my elder interviews and circular consent with community leaders. In addition, extensive volunteer tutoring within the school and participation in community events built rapport in the field.

Photovoice research aligns with the Indigenist research tenet of power sharing (L. T. Smith, 2005a). This sharing of power in photovoice research has been seen to empower individuals that were disabled because they were able to make their own decisions and participate in group discussions (Povee et al., 2014; Schleien et al., 2013). Aligning with my commitment to relational accountability, reciprocity for the young people and their reserves could be seen in the photovoice tasks building participant confidence (Povee et al., 2014). Also, the final stages of photovoice that engage a wider audience often empowers the participants (Hergenrather et al., 2006; Ingram, 2014)

Photovoice presents specific features that are well-suited for my research involving Anishinaabe youth. From a practical standpoint, this is an interesting method of gathering data that keeps participants engaged in the research process (Ingram, 2013). Furthermore, photovoice facilitates, "independent inquiry of research participants less constrained by intended or unintended researcher controls, access, and literacy" (Emme, 2008, p. 622). Data collection was not restricted to when I was present, thus providing a glimpse into their lives outside of school (Povee et al., 2014).

In my research, two photovoice tasks probed my research questions and topic (see Appendix G). The photovoice task 1, "Who am I?" encouraged the students to take pictures of people, places, and objects that were important in their lives. A prompt sheet was given to each of the young people outlining the two photovoice tasks. Similarly, most photovoice research begins with an open-end task that strengthens rapport and builds participant confidence (PhotoVoice, 2008). In addition to building relationships with my participants, the first task provided a glimpse into the daily lives of my participants. The first photovoice task was used in my pilot study and showed that the participants enjoyed taking photos and discussing their photos in the interview. The participants used the prompt sheet to remember the task.

Photovoice task 2 was titled, "How do others see me?" which visualised experiences of inclusion and exclusion (Appendix G). The second photovoice task was tested at the beginning of my main study with a recently graduated student from SLSS. I realised that this task was more challenging because of the more abstract nature of the task. As such, I introduced this task by brainstorming with each of the young people.

Photovoice raises ethical concerns about third-party consent which includes producing photos and possible future display of these photos (Clark, 2012). My preliminary interviews included basic photo training, saving digital images, and third-party consent[81] demonstrations (see Appendix H). Photovoice research involving disabled people usually relies on the participants to negotiate the rules of third-party consent within their community (Booth & Booth, 2003; Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007). Likewise, I relied on my participants to engage in consent activities. I followed up on third-party consent during the interviews by asking the participants to explain their consent procedures in respect to each person depicted within their photos.

Photovoice research with indigenous peoples relies on the participants gaining verbal consent on the individual and community level but seemed silent regarding the issue of future use of the photos (Castleden et al., 2008; Jennings & Lowe, 2013; McHugh, Coppola, & Sinclair, 2013). As such, once they decided to have a powwow showing some of the photos, I contacted any third-party individuals to determine consent.[82]

Photovoice research presents ethical dilemmas concerning anonymity. Some researchers suggest excluding any images that are identifiable (Ingram, 2013) or altering the images. The principal believed that the students should have the option to include photos that showed their faces. This decision was made because the blurring of faces could be considered another form of colonial homogenisation and disembodiment (Higgins, 2014; Sum, 2008). Similarly, for disabled people being depicted as "faceless" could undermine empowerment (Hynds, Faircloth, Green, & Jacob, 2014). As such, I negotiated levels of anonymity regarding the photos throughout the project. This practice aligns with Indigenist research's principle of the researcher sharing power (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991) by encouraging the young people in making their own decisions concerning anonymity instead of assuming that they need protection (L. T. Smith, 2005b). After explaining the potential risks of revealing one's identity, only Sage, Cedar, and Iris decided to include photos that depicted their faces.[83] These discussions about levels of anonymity is an example of applying situational ethics (Noddings, 2003).

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[81] During the pilot, I realised that my consent training needed to address taking photos of photos that depicted deceased loved ones. Each of the pilot participants wanted to include a photo of a deceased loved one but believed that it was "not allowed" because they were unable to consent. My revised preliminary interview protocol explicitly addresses the inclusions of images of deceased individuals.

[82] None of the photos depicted groups of people meaning it was possible for me to contact the individuals depicted in each photo.

[83] Sage explained that showing her face was part of "helping other gay youth" and that the people reading my "report will realise that these photos are important because they show me." Similarly, Iris stated that "my two photos with my face are about being proud of my culture." Iris and Sage were offered the choice of excluding these photos from my written work. However, both of these students rejected this level of anonymity.

Individual semi-structured interviews, a crucial part of photovoice research, are outlined next.

Individual semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were selected because they delve into an individual's beliefs (Patton, 2002), are flexible to interviewee needs (Denscombe, 2011), and probe the participants' photos (Wang & Burris, 1994). Further, by sharing control with the interviewee, this method demonstrates diminishing the researcher's power which aligns with the Indigenist research belief in power sharing (Pezalla, Pettigrew, & Miller-Day, 2012). Table 3.3 and 3.4 detail my use of semi-structured interviews with the young people and adult participants.

Table 3.3: Summary of young people interviews

Interview	Purpose	Length	Location
Preliminary interview	Introductory interview concerning school and family background. Trained the students about third-party consent, camera techniques, and introduced photovoice task 1 (see Appendix H). Explained the next stage of the research process.	30 mins-45 mins	Lounge room in SLSS
Second interview	Asked questions regarding the photos the students took in response to photovoice task 1. Introduced photovoice task 2 (Appendix H) and brainstormed possible ideas for photo generation. Explained the next stage of the research process.	60 mins-90 mins	Lounge room in SLSS
Third interview	Asked questions regarding photos from photovoice task 2 (Appendix H). Explained the talking circles and photo captioning process.	65-85 mins	Teacher's office in SLSS
Fourth interview	Questions regarding the powwow and reflections concerning research participation (Appendix H).	30-75 mins	Lounge room in SLSS and designated smoking area outside SLSS

Table 3.4: Summary of adult interviews

Interview	Purpose	Length	Location
First Family member interview	Contextualise the student's personal and educational lives. Understand the family's educational experiences. Ask about the purposes for education and their aspirations for the student (Appendix I).	65 mins	Ice Hockey arena, Lounge room in SLSS

Second Family member interview	Questions regarding the powwow and reflections concerning their students and their own participation in the research (Appendix I).	30-45 mins	Family home, Lounge room in SLSS
Teacher interviews	Contextualise the student's within their current school setting. Gain insight into how the teachers help each student (Appendix J).	30-70 mins	Teacher's office
Elder interviews	Contextualise the community and schooling. Ask questions about Anishinaabe beliefs and community goals (Appendix K).	65-140 mins	Family home

Interviewing is "inextricably and unavoidably historically, politically, and contextually bound" (Fontana & Frey, 2008, p. 115) causing interviews to be a non-neutral method that leads to contextually-based data. This means that the interviewer's presentation of self, language usage, sociolinguistic conventions, and attempts to build trust during the interview should be considered.

Presentations of myself included where I conducted interviews. Being conscious of family members' and elders' past experiences in residential schools, I offered to conduct their interviews within their communities (Table 3.4). Finding suitable locations to conduct the elder and family member interviews was a challenge. Communal spaces in the reserves were limited to the band council administrative building and outside gathering areas. Alice and Barbra, both elders, requested being interviewed outside of their homes beside fires because of the hypothermic temperatures. The rest of the elder interviews occurred within their homes during school hours when children were at school.

The scheduling and location of interviews with family members was mainly arranged by the young people. Jade's grandmother, Blossom, was interviewed the first time at an ice arena during her grandchildren's hockey practice. She thought this was an ideal location because during hockey practice she was not taking care of children. Amelia's boyfriend, Kodack was interviewed in the town of Riverside in a café. Both of these locations presented ethical and logistical challenges. Interviewing in public locations presents the ethical issues of confidentiality and anonymity. I used my iPhone to record these interviews because it was more discrete than my audio voice recorder.

Language use during the student, teacher, family member, and elder interviews was examined during my pilot study or tested in the main study prior to use. Carefully considering language use aligns with respecting Anishinaabe beliefs outlined as part of the ethics of relational accountability. In designing my interview protocols, I considered my language

because, even though my respondents were fluent in English there are different ways of saying things (Fontana & Frey, 2008). [84]

There were various Anishinaabe socio-linguistic conventions that influenced the interview process. For example, as a sign of respect Anishinaabe people often leave a pause before answering questions. Once I realised this during the pilot, I reciprocated this convention when my participants asked me questions. In addition, my Anishinaabe participants normally considered direct eye contact invasive. I facilitated this sociolinguistic convention by having the interviewees sit beside me instead of sitting across from me. When interviewing elders, I realised that asking many questions was not consistent with oral traditions. The elders are accustomed to sharing lengthy stories that were related to the original purpose of the conversation. As such, in the interviews, I reduced the number of questions and resisted my desire to redirect the interview discussions (Appendix K).

My attempts to gain trust during the interviews relates to my ethical commitment of reciprocity. In Anishinaabe culture, teaching usually involves questions being asked by both the listener and storyteller. This was reflected in my interviews with the Anishinaabe adults where I was expected to respond to their inquiries. For example, Blossom, Jade's grandmother, asked me questions about my family members. Similarly, Alice, Barbra, and Darryl frequently asked about my family members and career aspirations.

When the young people asked questions during the interviews it was often in seeking for advice, feedback, or encouragement. Often these questions came from a place of emotional distress, meaning that refusing to answer questions or offer feedback—which is a common practice for interviewers—could have inhibited both data collection and building trust with my participants (Fontana & Frey, 2008; Swartz, 2011). For example, when Amelia explained being sexually assaulted as a young child she said, "Carly, I feel like it is my fault because I feel like I let him do that to me. What do you think?" In addition, during Sage's third interview she retold witnessing her cousin's murder she asked, "Do you think I'll ever stop thinking about it?" The ethics of care necessitated that I respond to both of their questions in a sensitive manner. Providing responses to these questions built rapport and upheld the ethics of relational accountability (p. 57) specifically in relation to reciprocity and respect (pp. 58-59).

[84] For example, my pilot interview protocols referred to my Indigenous participants as Ojibway however, after consulting with elders during the pilot Anishinaabe was considered the acceptable term for this tribal group. As such my consultation with locals when drafting interview protocols and piloting interview protocols proved essential to conducting culturally-sensitive interviews.

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews was well-suited to meeting the needs of the young people. I conducted the student interviews in a lounge room at SLSS. This room was a private room with couches and space to walk around. Sage, Iris, and Jade often walked around the room throughout the interview. Amelia and Jade took breaks during the interview to smoke cigarettes outside. The final interviews with the young people mainly happened in a forested area behind the school designated as the smoking break area. The young people preferred interviewing outside, however, the first three interviews occurred during the winter. Innovations concerning interviewing will be further discussed in the methods section addressing walking interviews.

In addition to semi-structured interviews, photovoice projects usually use group interviewing, which is the basis of the talking circles discussed in the next sub-section.

Talking circles

As previously mentioned, photovoice usually involves group interviews where the participants share their photographs and look for collective themes. Rather than structured group interviews, using talking circles was an an attempt to adhere to the Indigenist research principle of including cultural practices as data collection tools (Lavallée, 2009). For Anishinaabe peoples, talking circles are a means of facilitating group discussions (Hart, 1996). Talking circles are based on the Anishinaabe beliefs concerning balance and relationships. In Anishinaabe communities, talking circles were considered a healing ceremony (Lavallée, 2009). A prayer at the commencement of a talking circle depended on the purpose and level of formality of the circle. If elders were leading the circle, smudging to purify the participants from negativity was considered essential (Blodgett et al., 2011). Normally participants are seated in a circle with a member of the circle serving as a facilitator. This facilitator outlines the purpose for the circle and asks the others to share their thoughts. Often an object like a feather is passed around the circle to designate who has the right to speak (Running Wolf & Rickard, 2003; Trudeau & Cherubini, 2010). Others can not interrupt the individual speaking (Hart, 1996).

As a data collection method, talking circles are concerned with gaining knowledge through non-judgmental and supportive discussions (Blodgett et al., 2011). Talking circles facilitated by non-Indigenous researchers involving Indigenous youth have been widely used (Lavallée, 2009; McHugh et al., 2013; Shea et al., 2011).

SLSS frequently used student talking circles, meaning the young people had experience in this setting. Often the teachers facilitated talking circles to deal with disagreements between students or to discuss classroom rules. Darren, the Anishinaabe

principal of SLSS and an elder, invited me to participate in a few talking circles within the school after which he encouraged me to follow the same process in my research. The talking circles at the school were considered informal and as such, did not require the presence of an elder. I developed a protocol to guide the discussion during the talking circles with the young people (Appendix L). This protocol was used to help guide the discussion about the themes within the young people's photos. Audio recording was prohibited by the principal of SLSS, because talking circles were considered sacred. As such, the talking circles were written about within my research journals. Appendix M provides an example of the journal entries from one of the talking circles.

Alongside a photovoice project, there are various uses for group discussions which include; critical reflection (Wang & Burris, 1997), planning possible community engagement opportunities (Wang & Burris, 1994), member checking (Jurkowski, 2008; Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007), empowering participants (Booth & Booth, 2003; Povee et al., 2014), and analysing data (Jurkowski, 2008). The purpose of the talking circles in this research was to encourage the young people to reflect, empower the participants, and consider future engagement activities with the larger community. The young people came to the talking circles with 4-6 self-selected photos with titles and captions they felt comfortable sharing with the members of the circle.[85]

Group interviewing requires mitigating for various types of exclusion that might arise during the group discussions, which could be particularly challenging for individuals with disabilities. As such, one of the difficulties of employing talking circles was the potential of replicating power imbalances experienced by the young people. The young people made it apparent that there was longstanding hostility between Raven and Sage. Conducting a talking circle with both of these students present would be culturally inappropriate because the circles must operate without feelings of negativity (Hart, 1996). Equally, the success of this method relies on the individuals trusting each other (Lavallée, 2009). As the talking circle stage of the research approached, Sage expressed her unwillingness to participate in a talking circle involving Raven. Two separate circles were created, but because the group sizes were smaller than normal, it was not possible to sit in a circle. The symbolism of the circular formation seems to be considered essential to conducting talking circles (Blodgett et al., 2011), so both Sage and Jade referred to our talking circles as "kind of" talking circles because the groups were too small. This was an unpredicted limitation of the use of talking circles within my research.

[85] Every student except Raven requested my help in writing their captions.

The first talking circle involved Cedar, Jade, and Sage and lasted for 80 minutes. The second circle involved Raven, Amelia, and Iris and lasted for 65 minutes. Conducting two different talking circles made the group sizes smaller than a normal talking circle (McHugh et al., 2013). During the talking circles, the young people sorted the photos into the same six categories. The young people in both circles decided to plan a powwow to display their photos. The details of these talking circles will be explored in chapter 4.

Data generation from the talking circles was limited due to my inability to make audio recordings. This ethical decision aligned with Indigenist research principles' call to ensure that Indigenous communities approve of the research and that ally-researchers respect Indigenous cultural beliefs. Thus, the data generated from the talking circles was confined to the entries in my researcher journals written immediately after the circles concluded. These entries capture the key topics discussed and what the young people decided concerning photo categories. Ascertaining major themes in the photos and participant empowerment were the main functions of engaging in the talking circles. Therefore, the data that remained unreportable like the group dynamics and specific interactions between participants was not the focus for my use of this method.

Walking interviews

Walking interviews are a distinct method within the mobility paradigm, in which the researcher walks beside a participant during an interview. This method focusses on exploring the links between individuals and place (J. Evans & Jones, 2011). There are various formats of walking interviews that target specific research purposes (Kinney, 2017), and they range from research-driven structured interviews to participant-driven open interviews (J. Evans & Jones, 2011). This method integrates the benefits of both sit-down interviews and observations (Kusenbach, 2003) while providing the unique opportunity to interact with the participant in situ. Researchers note that this method generates rich data because the participants often find it easier to verbalise attitudes and feelings when walking (J. Evans & Jones, 2011; Kinney, 2017; Parent, 2016). However, this method has been applied most extensively in geography and health research (Harris, 2016).

The fruitfulness of using walking interviews was realised during data analysis, when reading my fieldnotes and reflection journals. Appendix N provides an excerpt from my three types of research journals describing a walk with one of the young people. I realised that five of the young people asked me to accompany them on at least one walk in the forest. Regardless of my presence, each of the young people used walks as a form of calming down following an outburst in class. The walking interviews showed how these young people deal

with their disabilities in real time. There is a lack of theoretical or practical applications of walking interviews in disability or special education research, and yet, they could "provide access to an embodied perspective of disability" (Bulter & Derrett, 2014, p. 1). Butler and Darrett (2014) tested the use of walking interviews with four participants who had physical injuries following a pre-existing disability and concluded that walking interviews provided insight into "alienation and loneliness that might not be readily" discussed in seated interviews (p.7).

At the moment, the application of walking interviews to disability research is limited to exploring physical disabilities. However, walking interviews have the potential to explore a range of disabilities. For example, walking interviews could illuminate the fragile nature of social participation experienced by individuals with behavioural or cognitive disabilities. The walking interviews in this research align with the most common form of walking interview, the go-along where the researcher accompanies the participant on an outing that would have normally occurred. The researcher asks questions, listens, and observes as the participant goes about their usual route (Carpiano, 2009).

Sage took me on three walks that all occurred on her tribal land to collect firewood. Amelia took me on two walks, the first was at a sacred Anishinaabe site and the second was on a favourite trail. Jade took me on a walk behind his home on his tribal land. Cedar also walked me through his favourite locations in his tribal area. In addition, some of my adult participants also took me on walks. Iris brought me to a sacred Anishinaabe site that has hiking trails. Sam, Sage's family member also took me on a walk to a sacred Anishinaabe site. Alice, an elder, took me for a walk in a forested area that was her tribe's original allotment but is no longer inhabited after being flooded by a federal government dam project. She was going on this walk to collect herbs and sacred medicines. All of these walks occurred in densely forested areas. During these walks, the participants usually taught me about spiritual beliefs, talked about deceased loved ones, forest safety, and struggles in their lives. Similar to the literature regarding walking interviews, during these walks I heard about how the individuals were connected to the land, plants, water, and animals.

Walking interviews have been used with CLD participants (Carpiano, 2009; Harris, 2016). However, it appears that this method has yet to be applied to research with Indigenous peoples. In the case of my research, the strengths of this method align with an Indigenist research ethos. Power imbalances are mitigated because the participants act as the guide for the walk (Carpiano, 2009). It helps build reciprocal relationships based on mutual learning (Kinney, 2017). Interestingly, the current research utilising walking interviews involves urban settings.

There are various practical limitations involved with using walking interviews including being influenced by outside conditions like weather and the physical health of the respondent. The literature suggested using "riding interviews" in cars where the researcher interviews the respondent while driving on the route the participant outlined (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). However, this adaptation would not have facilitated the young people's walks through the forest. Currently, the potential weaknesses of this method remain largely unexplored in the literature (J. Evans & Jones, 2011).

Safety is another limitation of this method. Being a type 1 diabetic meant that prolonged physical activity requires having emergency medical equipment. During a walk with Sage, I experienced a low blood glucose level which required us taking an hour break in the forest while I performed the necessary medical actions. Iris, being another type 1 diabetic, had the same safety considerations during our walking interview. Most of my walking interviews occurred in winter meaning safety issues with respect to hypothermia were also considered.

There are specific limitations in utilising this method with people that have disabilities. The power-sharing benefit of this method is subject to researcher able-body positionality. Able-bodied researchers should be aware that mobility in situ often represents sites of privilege. This limit of walking interviews was mitigated by my positionality as a researcher with a physical disability. Engaging in these walks involved exposing the limitations of my own disability to each of the participants. They witnessed the planning and safety concerns associated with my daily life in real-time. In response, it seemed that the young people discussed their own disabilities.

My three types of research journal are explained next.

Research journals

My research journals encouraged reflexive thinking and were a means of documenting other forms of data collection. SLSS's first access requirement of having me tutor three hours each day I was at the school helped build relationships with each of the young people and other students. Helping students with their course work one-on-one provided invaluable insight into their personal lives, learning needs, social skills, and academic strengths. My journals contained information about the functioning of the school, local government proceedings, and interactions with teachers. This also meant that I had many informal

discussions with the young people that were documented in the three types of research journals that I maintained throughout (Appendix O).

In my pilot, my research journal was unorganised and focused on the school structure with limited references to daily interactions with students. This meant that the quality of the data was negatively impacted and difficult to analyse. Therefore, in the main study, I had three types of journals which included a log, fieldnotes, and reflections (Pillow, 2003). The log recorded the dates, times, and locations of daily interactions in point form notes (Wolfinger, 2002). The fieldnote entries provide detailed descriptions of what was "said, done and observed during a research event" (Pillow, 2010, p. 276). Finally, my reflection entries were a space for my thoughts, emotions, early analysis, and questions (Berger, 2015). Throughout the day, I kept point form notes in my log. At the end of the day I used log notes as a guide in writing my field notes and reflection journal entries. Using three separate journals assisted in capturing a more concise recounting of the events of the day and critical insights that emerged in the field. Journaling in three separate formats took a considerable amount of time. However, it proved to be invaluable in gathering data and exercising reflexivity. It proved necessary for my own mental well-being in the field. There were 123 days recounted across the three journals. This generated 170 single spaced pages of journaling. Appendix O, shows excerpts from my three journals that chronicled the same day.

Having this clear format for journaling generated an account that detailed various aspects of each day which led to methodological insights like the walking interviews and the need for separate talking circles. In cross-cultural research, research journals can be problematic because research observations can replicate hegemonic structures (Denscombe, 2011). I attempted to mitigate for this by explicitly using the reflection journal to critique my own privilege and discuss examples of systemic racism. In addition, the fieldnotes were thematically coded alongside the interview transcripts. The data captured in my reflection journal was largely my opinions, meaning that they were used as a reference to assist in the analysis process but not included in the coding. Including the reflections journal in the thematic coding process could have overpowered the Anishinaabe voices in my project.

Within the following section, I review one of the outcomes of this research that was a young people-led powwow which featured a selection of their photos. This was not a method but became an important site for data collection, reflection, and reciprocity.

Powwow photovoice exhibit

A public event is commonly the final stage of a photovoice research project. The public event allows the participants to engage with a larger audience to promote social change

(Wang & Burris, 1994). Often the public event empowers the participants to feel like their voices have been heard by the community, policy makers, and family members (Booth & Booth, 2003; Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007). However, some Indigenous researchers caution that public events could reproduce hegemonic power structures causing the participants to feel disempowered (Higgins, 2014). In an attempt to address this risk, the young people controlled the design and implementation of their event.

As previously mentioned, the talking circles involved discussing the possibility of a public event (Appendix L). The young people unanimously decided that they wanted to host a public event. The initial reason they wanted to host a public event was to share their photos with their reserves. In the first talking circle, Sage explained that, "teaching our elders is done through ceremonies like powwows." In the second talking circle, Raven came to same conclusion saying, "having a powwow lets us share knowledge with the elders in the right way." As such, the young people decided that their photos would be displayed as part of a powwow, which is a celebratory sacred gathering that includes drumming, dancing, feasting, and sharing gifts. Additional reasons for having a public event became apparent as the young people planned the powwow. These purposes included, including the entire school, fighting settler racism, and healing from residential schooling. As such, the young people considered the powwow to be promoting social change which aligns with the underlying purpose of photovoice projects including a public display (Wang et al., 2004).

Including all 120 students in both the primary and elementary school was important to the young people and aligned with the access requirements for my research (p. 72). One of the ways this was fulfilled was overseeing a whole-school art activity that was displayed at the powwow. Appendix P was a memo to the primary school teachers used to explain my involvement within their classrooms. This memo explained that I would plan the art project to align with curriculum and student abilities. Prior to the art project, I volunteered three hours within each of the four elementary classrooms. This helped to familiarise me with the students. After which, I designed a lesson for each grade level that added to the school-wide art project. The young people from SLSS assisted me in the primary classrooms. Appendix Q details the lesson plans for each grade level and the material lists. Junior kindergarten students painted large pieces of paper, while kindergarten painted smaller ones. Grades 1 and 2 used pre-cut stencils to transform the painted pieces of paper into individual feathers. Grades 3 and 4 classrooms used white pencils to add intricate designs to the individual feathers. The SLSS students helped at each stage and arranged the individual feathers into the wings shown in Figure 3.8 . The young people named this art activity "soar like an eagle."

Figure 3.8: Whole-school art activity

Sage said, "The wings art project was so cool" because "it was made by all of us—the little kids and the high school students." This art project was titled "Soar like an eagle" which became the name for the powwow. Alongside the photovoice photos, there were tables displaying their classmates' art. The primary students were asked to dance at the powwow. Thus, the entire school was part of their powwow event.

Various aspects of the powwow sought to combat settler racism. Cedar was designated with the task of inviting community guests. Appendix R shows the poster and invitation that Sage and Amelia designed. My reflection journal states that they invited "grand chief, community chiefs, elders, parents, social workers, parole officers, nurses, school principals at the white high schools, MPP [*member of provincial parliament*] , and the prime minister." Cedar explained that government officials were invited because the young people "just want everyone to be friends" and hoped that the "powwow would fight racism [*by giving*] white people the chance to come to a powwow and see what Anishinaabe culture is like." Sage voiced hopes that the powwow would "show that we *[the students]* aren't the stereotypes—we care about Mother Nature, our people, and our culture."

After attending a local museum and seeing that Anishinaabe history and artefacts were absent, the young people decided that their photos and art pieces should be formally displayed. Raven said, "we need to feel like artists and the display needs to have a museum vibe." Cedar explained their decolonising stance when saying, "our powwow is going to show that Anishinaabe art and photos should be displayed like a museum but in an Anishinaabe way by including a powwow too." As such, the photos were displayed hanging on the walls of

the gymnasium above tables featuring the high school student's art work. Figure 3.9 shows how the photos were displayed at the powwow.

Figure 3.9: Photo exhibit at the powwow

The location of the event was a major topic of discussion during the talking circles. The young people decided to host the powwow at SLSS in the gymnasium. The students were aware that residential school survivors would be among the guests at the powwow. Raven also noted that having the powwow at the school "might make people actually come inside the school for the first time since being a student at a residential school." They hoped that having a powwow inside SLSS would make the school seem like a safe place. Iris also mentioned that for almost 150 years powwows were illegal and "definitely didn't happen inside schools" in Canada. As such, the students' choice of location for the powwow seemed to align with their goal to promote healing from residential school trauma.

The sacredness of powwows means that elders must be involved in the planning and the actual event. As such, the powwow promoted the sharing of intergenerational knowledge (Battiste, 1998). The young people worked alongside community elders and community members to organise this event appropriately. This involved inviting all of the local chiefs, booking a drumming group, providing gifts to elders, and organising a feast. This stage of the research was nearly exclusively led by the young people and elders.

One of the weaknesses of photovoice projects is that often ,the public exhibit is at the end of the research, and not included in the data collection, and understanding to what extent, or whether the participants were empowered by the event remains unexplored. Sometimes researchers have individuals complete surveys when they attend the public event (Ingram, 2013). However, this method was inappropriate for my research site because of varying literacy abilities and the history of formalised surveys being used to oppress Indigenous

peoples (L. T. Smith, 1999). In my research, the final interviews with each of the young people occurred after the powwow (Appendix H).

I planned to interview each of the family members and elders a second time after the exhibit. The school provided transportation for any of the family members or elders involved. However, not all of the family members or elders previously interviewed were able to attend the powwow. This limited the data collected about the impacts of attending the powwow to two family member interviews, two elder interviews, three teacher interviews and six young people interviews. I considered interviewing other family members, community members, students, and elders that attended the powwow, but without building a rapport with these individuals, I decided that hegemonic power structures could easily be replicated. Instead I used my research journals to record many of the powwow guests' reactions to the.

Public displays present difficult decisions regarding anonymity. Featuring the photos as part of this larger event assisted in keeping the exact identities of the six young people unknown. Including the high school art, primary school dancers, and a large feast created an event that celebrated the entire school. Sage, Iris, and Raven were the only students that decided to select photos that revealed their faces. Cedar, Jade, and Amelia selected photos that were less likely to expose their identity.

The powwow aligned with the relational ethics requirement of reciprocity. It became a central way of giving back and showcasing the young people and their peers at SLSS. Aligning with the Indigenist research tenant of facilitating collective reciprocity (p.59), the powwow engaged with each of the young people's reserves and the settler community of Riverside. At least 300 individuals attended the powwow. This event also fulfilled the Indigenist research principle of representing individuals and the collective community. Moreover, the student-planned powwow led to research practices that creatively included cultural practices, another principle of Indigenist research. The powwow also showcased research that engages in power sharing with the participants. As the students, community members, and elders prepared for and hosted the powwow, my role became one of learner, and the event became a significant site of reflection for me.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is "understood as a combination of close engagement with data, interpretation of data, and theorising" (Bathmaker, 2010, p. 202). It is a time-consuming, rigorous, and creative process (Evers & Loes van Staa, 2012). One of the difficulties of qualitative data analysis is that in published research, the process and decisions involved are

often not described (Bathmaker, 2010). Explaining the analysis process is important because decisions regarding ethics of representation are inevitable in the analysis process. Thus, data analysis has the "power to shape what comes to be known about someone's experience" (Willig, 2013, p. 140). Correspondingly, Indigenist research often cautions that researchers have the "power to distort, to make invisible, to overlook, to exaggerate and to draw conclusions, based not on factual data, but on assumptions, hidden value judgements, and often downright misunderstandings" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 176).

My research involved different types of data derived from various methods of data collection and multiple respondents. As such, the data analysis involves integrating different types of data into a cohesive account (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016). Data analysis that integrates different types of data usually involves designing a data management system, choosing analysis techniques for each data collection tool, and considering which data the analysis may accentuate.

Data analysis for multisite case studies is complex, because cross-case analysis can cause the differences in individual cases to become indiscernible (Herriott & Firestone, 1983). However, navigating this apparent weakness of multisite case studies aligns with the ethics of representation's appeal to represent the individual and collective. This balance is shown in chapter 4 of my findings when the young people are each introduced followed by the cross-case findings. My data analysis plan outlines the inclusion of each type of data alongside the analytical techniques specific to each type. Implementing a data analysis plan that probes the research question whilst utilising data analysis techniques that correspond with each type of data is displayed in Table 3.5 (Colley, 2010).

Table 3.5: Data analysis process

Data type	Stage 1: Immersion	Stage 2: Thematic Coding	Stage 3: Cross-respondent analysis	Stage 4: Cross-case analysis
	-Interview transcripts. -Research journal log entries.	-Interview transcripts.	-Thematically coded interview transcripts. See Appendix U. -Research journal field notes.	-Research journal reflections entries. -Talking circle summary of main points. -powwow photo exhibit categories -Cross-respondent within case visual depictions (Appendix W).
Analytic techniques	-meet with supervisor to discuss emerging ideas. -review transcriber generated transcripts whilst keeping notes in my reflections research journal.	-A priori codes (Appendix S) and open coding leading to a relational analysis between codes (merging codes creating code families, splitting codes creating sub codes) (Appendix T) (Gibson & Brown, 2011; Lapadat, 2012). *code the young people's transcripts first followed by the other respondents. -Record major decisions concerning coding in research journal log entries (Evers & Loes van Staa, 2012) -meet with supervisor to review codes and descriptions	-Thoroughly read field note entries to assist in contextualising each young person. -Print out hard copies of each parent code and sub code from NVivo. Within these codes that are across all the respondents (young people, teachers, family members, elders) conduct further coding (Lapadat, 2012). - Using highlighters/colour coding to assist in this level of analysis (Appendix V) -Record the process of contextualising each case and potential patterns/variations in research journal log entries (Bathmaker, 2010).	-Consult research journal reflection entries. -Generate a visual depiction (comparison diagram, charts) of cross- analysis patterns and variations that align with my research questions (Evers & Loes van Staa, 2012). See Appendix W. (*I practiced this technique in my pilot.) -Record the process of identifying major cross-case themes in research journal log entries.

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I transcribed half of my interviews, but employed a transcriber for the rest. While this could be criticised as obstructing my immersion in the data (Denscombe, 2011), as noted in Table 3.5, stage 1 of my data analysis process included reading of all interviews I did not transcribe myself. In addition, I immersed myself in the data by carefully reading the interview transcriptions and keeping notes in my reflections research journal of any emerging themes and possible connections to literature (Patton, 2002).

Thematic coding was used to analyse the interview transcriptions, which includes the participant-generated photos. The commitment in photovoice research to try empower voices caused me to analyse the photos solely based on the young people's own descriptions from the their interviews (Wang et al., 2004). A priori codes derive from the research interests informed by literature, whereas, open codes emerge from exploring the data (Gibson & Brown, 2011). I devised a list of a priori codes, which were informed by my research questions, literature, and my pilot study. This codes are located in Appendix S. However, some argue that the distinction between a priori and open codes is fictitious (Evers & Loes van Staa, 2012). As the coding ensued, additional codes developed based on patterns like frequency of occurrence, emphasis of respondents, or disagreements between respondents. These codes are listed in Appendix T. Recognising these patterns and identifying the new codes was based on my understanding of the topic, research questions, and literature. Thematic coding is critiqued for decontextualising and disrupting the coherence of an individual's account (Lapadat, 2012). Therefore, creative synthesis which analyses data by creating stories without deconstructing could be employed (Moustakas, 1994). However, this technique is rarely used for research involving multiple respondents and various types of data (Bathmaker, 2010). Appendix U offers an example of a coded interview transcript.

After analysing my pilot study data, I realised my main study would generate too much data for me to code efficiently by hand. As such, I learned how to use NVivo which was used in this research as a data management and analysis tool. As depicted in Table 3.5, NVivo helped in stages 1-3 of my data analysis. In stage 3, NVivo proved helpful in developing cross-respondent analysis. After coding all of the interviews transcriptions, the cross-case analysis involved printing out hard copies for each of the codes across all of the respondents. I manually added the photos the young people were referring to beside the coded interview transcripts. Placing the photos alongside the coded text proved essential in combining the types of data within the analysis. At this point, I analysed the data across all of the respondents by hand using highlighters to ascertain similarities, differences, and subthemes within each of the codes. Appendix V shows an excerpt the parent code "identity" within the

sub-code of "gender and sexuality." Next, the hard copy highlighted cross-respondent transcripts were distilled into visual mind maps. Appendix W shows a visual depiction of cross-respondent analysis. Key phrase and word searches within NVivo assisted in my construction of visual depictions of cross-respondent themes for analysis.

During data analysis, researchers make choices concerning the significance of different types of data. For instance, in reconciling the analysis of differing types of data, researchers often grapple with integrating various respondents into one analysis. In data analysis, educational researchers often unintentionally prioritise adult respondents because child respondents produce less articulate data (Colley, 2010). To assist in centralising the young people, codes generated from the adult transcripts were used to highlight differences and similarities with the young people. As shown in Table 3.5, "Stage 4: Cross-case analysis*"* was guided by the talking circle data and the powwow photo exhibit categories the young people generated. By centring the young people's categories in my analysis, I attempted to be reflexive. However, a limitation of this was that not all of the photos were part of the public exhibit. Using the young people's definitions for each of the exhibit categories, I placed the remaining photos into their existing categories.[86]

Data analysis includes the writing-up of research findings and calls for reflexivity because, data analysis is filtered through one's theoretical stance, worldviews, and biases (Merriam & Tisdell, 2009). The importance of reflexivity in social science research is widely recognised. Reflexivity is symbiotically linked to the ethics involved with data analysis. Often during the analysis stage, I consulted with my supervisor concerning the emerging codes and overall analysis procedures. Writing up research involves making political decisions (Aaltio & Hopfl, 2009). It is the researcher who chooses what constitutes data, the interpretation of the data, the creation of a narrative based on the data, and isolating what is considered important (Gordon, 2005). Usher and Edward (1994) assert that reflexivity helps researchers interrogate the power imbalance between the researcher and the researched and its influence on the knowledge generated. Ideally, the young people would have been part of the entire analysis process. However, the access requirement of completing the fieldwork within the

[86] In photovoice research, cross-analysis is usually guided by participant consultation (Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007; Lapadat, 2012). Often photovoice researchers fail to explain how the focus groups' themes informed the researchers' data analysis. Issues could result in using the talking circles as a guide in cross-analysis. For instance, main ideas from the talking circles could be peripherally related to my research questions or they could lack the depth expected of cross-analysis. Nevertheless, using the main ideas the young people discussed in the talking circles seemed to capture aspects of the lived experiences of disability unrealised through researcher-based cross analysis. Similarly, in my MPhil research, focus groups provided key insights into general patterns and deviations that shaped my cross-analysis.

school year meant that there was no time remaining for formal data analysis with the young people.

Validity

According to Robson (2011), validity refers to the accuracy and correctness of research findings. However, validity should reach beyond "obfuscating claims of objectivity" (Lather, 1986a, p. 66) commonly used in positivist research. Claims of validity are tied to theoretical frameworks (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) and as such, positivist research commonly adheres to lists of quantifiable procedures to demonstrate validity. Yet, qualitative research attempts to "find out more about people's experiences, their thoughts, feelings, and social practices" and often rejects the positivist belief in research exposing truth (Willig, 2013, p. 136). Lacking "ready-made formulae to guarantee valid social knowledge," tactics of showing validity derive from deeply contextualised reflexive practices (Lather, 1986a, p. 66). Acknowledging the role played by the researcher's values and presence is paramount (Swartz, 2011), and the role of the researcher as an instrument could result in biased interpretations of the data (Pezalla et al., 2012). Maintaining three research journals encouraged examining my assumptions and in parallel, my supervisor evaluated my research design, data collection, analysis, and the writing process.

My research attempts to align with the ethics of relational accountability which include respect, reciprocity, and responsibility (p. 57). These Indigenist research principles not only guided my ethical considerations but also framed my validity-enhancing techniques. Practicing respect, reciprocity, and responsibility established trustworthiness between myself, the young people, and the reserves. Next, how these principles enhanced the validity of my research are examined.

Respect as related to validity, refers to the inclusion of local practices and Anishinaabe ways of knowing as data collection tools. The creditability of my data was enhanced by having localised knowledge activated in data collection methods like the walking interviews, talking circles, and the powwow. Respecting the Anishinaabe-governing bodies in the circular consent process also enhances the credibility of the data collected.

Respect for the voices of each interviewee was illustrated through my modified use of member checking. Member checking is often considered essential as a means of establishing validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It usually involves participants reading transcriptions for authenticity. However, the reliability of this form of member checking has been questioned because often participants are less vested in the research, leading to a cursory review (Robinson-Pant, 2005). Power dynamics could result in respondents not questioning the

researcher. Additionally, in my research, member checking that relies on the participants having a certain level of literacy could be inappropriate. Therefore, for this research, member checking was adapted to summarising the main points at the conclusion of each interview. This procedure brought a sense of closure to the interviews, clarified misunderstandings, and allowed the respondents to add information. Some may argue that this could still be problematic, because Anishinaabe people often considered voicing disagreement rude (Corbiere, 2000). However, I believe that the length of time I spent in the field facilitated building relationships with the young people and made it more acceptable for them to disagree. Sometimes the young people would interject during the summaries providing clarification, which seems to demonstrate their comfort with this process.

The relational accountability value of responsibility involves considering the representation of the young people and their reserves. In seeking to balance the representation of both, I employed the validity-enhancing technique of "going deep" which refers to considering the breadth of the data (Swartz, 2011). Remaining in the field for 10 months also demonstrates increasing the depth of this research. Including a parallax of perspectives deriving from different respondents and data collection tools increased the validity of the data. Triangulation is also exhibited by having various types of data, which include interviews, talking circles, and my research journal. The young people, teachers, elders, and family members involved in my research demonstrate triangulation of data sources (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000).

My pilot helped me practice my interview skills; adjust my interview protocols, assess data collection tools, navigate ethical concerns, and increase my cultural sensitivity thereby elevating the validity of this research. Aspects of the main study that were not included in the pilot study underwent on-site piloting. Validity was further demonstrated throughout this chapter by providing a description of the research design. Appendices A-W further demonstrate validity.

Building authentic relationships that extend beyond formal research timelines is included within the Indigenist research understanding of responsibility (Hart, 2002). Since leaving the field, the young people have contacted me almost monthly. Elders I interviewed continue to send me mail and I visit each of them, and the reserves involved, when I'm back in Canada. Having authentic relationships with the people involved in my research means that the data collected is likely more accurate in portraying their lives.

Reciprocity, which can also be called catalytic validity (Lather, 1986a, 1993; Swartz, 2011) refers to the "degree to which the research process re-orients, focuses, and engerizes [*sic*] participants" to gain self-understanding through participating in the research process

(Lather, 1986a, p. 67). Using photovoice empowered the young people and demonstrated catalytic validity. There are various ways my research gave back to the young people and the reserves. One overt form of reciprocity was the advice and referrals I provided to the young people upon their requests, for instance, directing the young women to agencies for assistance with sexual abuse revealed during our interviews. Listening to the young people was another unintended form of reciprocity. Amelia spoke of the research process as making her "feel valuable and smart [*because*] adults never ask me about my opinions or dreams."

The young people also demonstrated academic improvement from participating in the research. For example, Cedar said that being part of this research stopped him from "dropping out of school" and made him "get out of bed each morning." In addition, Elsie, a teacher at SLSS thought that the young people involved in the research seemed "more confident in themselves and this translates to trying harder in school." The impact of the research extended beyond academic influences. Raven said that "this research proved to me that I am a good person. I can do things in life and not just sit around." The young people were proud of sticking with the research for the entire school year as Jade expressed when saying that research "saved my life because it caused me care about the future."

Having the research process inspire activism is also considered catalytic validity. Organising a powwow and inviting settlers to the event, demonstrates the young people's activism towards combatting settler racism. Hosting the powwow at SLSS with the intention of helping residential school survivors feel comfortable could be deemed another example of activism. Sage contacted the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC), and invited reporters to the powwow, and through they were unable to attend, SLSS was featured in a national news story about federal school funding issues. Further examples of activism stemming from this research will be discussed in chapter 6 and 7.

Validity is also shown by my findings presented in chapter 4, which are supported by evidence found within the data, to which I now turn.

Chapter 4 - Nii'kinaaganaa[87] (all my relations)

Introduction

Nii'kinaaganaa or "all my relations" is a common greeting and said at the end of most Anishinaabe ceremonies. One's relations include relationships with the material and nonmaterial worlds like the cosmos, land, animals, ideas, water, etc. This ideas was demonstrated in my research practices when I introducing myself. I was usually asked about my relatives and where they lived. This process of establishing my relations was essential to building trusting relationships in my research (see p. 72).

My understanding of *nii'kinaaganaa* developed as I journaled about my daily interactions. For example, my fieldnote research journal recorded an incident when Amelia saw a group of pelicans in the forest behind SLSS, which she explained was a "special and spiritual" event for Amelia, and when I asked why it was inspiring, she replied that these birds are a "sign of summer reminding me to keep believing good things are growing in my life." This sighting demonstrated Amelia's relationship to the natural world, and illustrates her relationship with the spiritual world. It connected Amelia to her late grandma because, "pelicans were her [*grandma's*] favourite animal which means the spirit of my grandma is talking to me in the form of pelicans." Amelia's explanation of her animal sighting demonstrates *nii'kinaaganaa,* and similarly the other young people saw themselves as embedded within webs of relationships.

As the young people explained their lives, *nii'kinaaganaa* emerged, becoming the data presented in this chapter. The photos taken in response to the photovoice tasks (Appendix G) described their relationships with the material and nonmaterial worlds. As part of their interviews, the young people were asked to explain the photos. Table 4.1 summarises this data. From the photovoice tasks, each young person selected five to seven photos to discuss within the talking circles, and to be displayed at the powwow photovoice exhibit. In seeking to represent Anishinaabe beliefs, the young people categorised the photos into the seven grandfather teachings (SGT)[88] which when translated into English are: honesty, love, wisdom,

[87] The Anishinaabe words for each of the teachings are listed as a reminder that the English translations often do not capture the meaning of the teachings. The translated teachings are commonly used English words, however, the meaning of these words in Anishinaabe differ. Anishinaabe words are also listed to honour these teachings and promote Anishinaabe language use.

[88] Among the Anishinaabe peoples, the SGT are considered principles of living a good life. These teachings were passed down orally by elders for generations. Often, Anishinaabe people refer to the SGT as "the

humility, truth, respect, and bravery. In the talking circles, the young people defined these teachings and categorised the photos accordingly.[89]

Table 4.1: Young people data sources

Timeframe	Data type	Length or number of photos
1 Jan- 15 Jan	Preliminary Interview	32-55 minutes
15 Jan- 20 Feb	First photovoice task	7-12 photos
20 Feb- 25 March	Second interview	35-73 minutes
25 March- 15April	Second photovoice task	4-7 photos
15 April- 05 May	Third interview	56-107 minutes
20 April- 10 May	Talking circles	30-45 minutes
20 May- 02 July	Fourth interview	24-48 minutes

In an attempt to contextualise the young people, this chapter includes data from the Anishinaabe adult interviews, the interviews conducted with family members and elders, which are shown in Table 4.2. These interviews provided additional cultural teachings. In addition, my field note journal, which contained 98 entries detailing each day spent I spent in SLSS's classrooms and frequently clarified cultural teachings.

Table 4.2: Adult participant interviews

Timeframe	Respondent	Length
10 Feb- 08 July	11 Elder interviews	40-140 minutes
20 April-21 June	6 Teacher interviews	35-75 minutes
02 Feb- 10 July	5 Family member interviews	60-100 minutes

This chapter begins by explaining the connection between the SGT and *nii'kinaaganaa.* Each of the teachings is discussed by outlining the young people's definitions, photos, and related interview data.

Seven grandfather teachings (SGT) and *nii'kinaaganaa*

The young people talked about these teachings throughout the research as a way to maintain balance between all one's relations. As such, the SGT could be considered a way of

teaching." The same teaching can have multiple interpretations depending on the understanding of the listener. Teachings are meant to be shared with those who are willing to learn.

[89] As mentioned in chapter 3 (p.87), only the young people-selected photos were categorised during the talking circles. In this chapter, I categorised additional photos the young people showed me during their interviews. I applied the young people's definitions to categorise the remaining photos.

implementing *nii'kinaaganaa*. Iris said these teachings described "how Anishinaabe people make sense of the world." For Cedar, it was "obvious" that the photos would be categorised by the SGT because he thought "about life through these teachings." Correspondingly, Iris said "everything fits into the seven grandfather teachings."

Darren, the principal of SLSS, explained that these teachings were the "guiding principles for the entire school", and they were visually depicted throughout SLSS on bulletin boards (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: SLSS poster of the SGT [90]

These teachings were discussed by the elders outside of the school setting. Barbra, an elder, thought that the teachings were "a foundation to living a traditional Anishinaabe life." Stewart, an elder, believed that elders were "supposed to share the seven grandfather teachings." Rowen, an elder, felt that "the seven grandfather teachings are the basic things needed for a happy and healthy life."

The following section examines honesty, which the young people felt included one's relationships with self.

[90] The origin of this image was unknown. The principal, Darren, believed it was created on the computer by a fellow teacher at his previous school. SLSS displayed this image throughout the school and as a logo in official emails.

Gwekwaadziwin (Honesty)

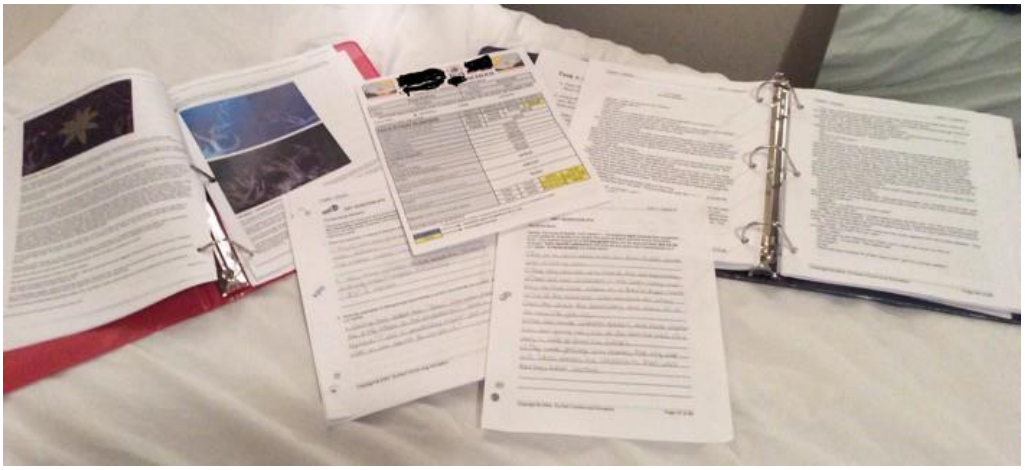
In the talking circles, Iris explained honesty as "seeing who you are and knowing what you want to become." Sage thought that the "teaching of honesty means being honest with yourself." For Cedar, honesty meant being "able to see your own strengths and weaknesses."[91] Corresponding with their definitions, photos concerning self-descriptions, hobbies, and aspirations will be explored now.

Amelia

Amelia said, "I'm a bit shy, fidgety and quiet." After the death of her grandmother, Amelia had to fend for herself which "made me more responsible, organised and street smart." Amelia was estranged from her mother who claimed she was lying about being sexually abused by her step-father. This estrangement caused Amelia to be "sad and lonely" and contributed to her "anxiety attacks, cutting, and depression." However, she saw herself as a "positive person who is helpful and caring." She volunteered at an animal shelter and "loves being with animals."

As a self-described "proud Anishinaabe girl," Amelia loved participating in community events and ceremonies. Amelia said, being "spiritually connected to the land, animals, water, and my ancestors is important to me." She also considered herself to be "crafty, creative, and a bit of an artist." These descriptions of herself aligned with her hobbies which included math puzzles, Anishinaabe beading, drawing, baking, and hiking.

Amelia felt that SLSS helped her "become a good student who is smart enough for college." In her immediate future, Amelia plans to complete secondary school. Her photo called "Hope" (Figure 4.2) displayed the final course work needed to do this. She wanted this photo to show that people should "never give up because I used to think finishing high school was impossible."



[91] Photos concerning weaknesses in relation to disability included topics like addictions, mental health, and academic struggle are examined in chapter 5.

Figure 4.2: "Hope" by Amelia (photovoice task 2)

Amelia wanted to go to college for social work so she could "fight discrimination against Indigenous children" in foster care. She also aspired to "live a substance-free life." She considered herself an "almost recovered addict" of illegal drugs and alcohol . She dreamed of having "a few children" and believed she would be a "really caring mom." In her old age, she hoped to be "an elder like my grandma who taught people about being Anishinaabe."

Jade

Jade described himself as a "nice guy who is outgoing and confident." In social situations, he tried to "include everyone." He saw himself as a "loyal friend" saying, "I would give the shirt off my back for my friends." He struggled with "depression, loneliness, anger issues, and addiction." Jade said, "I didn't know how to share emotions and feelings with anyone [*explaining that*]…my addictions helped in managing my [*emotional*] pain."

He described himself as an "excellent athlete…who loved being part of a team." Jade was a member of an ice hockey team at his previous provincial school, but SLSS's lack of athletics has been a source of sadness, because "being on the ice playing hockey makes me feel pure joy."[92]

His hobbies included hockey, snowmobiling, video games, and rapping. He explained that he "liked to do hands-on things like building, puzzles, welding, and sports." His photo, titled, "Yamaha 2007," showed his snowmobile which he used to "haul firewood and speed around on the frozen lake for fun." He said that riding on the snowmobile "make me feel free."

Figure 4.3: "Yamaha 2007" by Jade (photovoice task 1)

[92] As a new and small secondary school, SLSS does not have a athletics programme.

Jade also took a photo (Figure 4.4) showing his "video game setup." This system was special because his grandma gave him this gift despite having "no money to spare" which reminded Jade that "someone loved" him "a lot." Jade saw video games as a "good hobby" because it "distracts me from going to parties."

Figure 4.4: "Gaming" by Jade (Photovoice task 1)

Jade aspired to "kick" his substance addictions because he "doesn't want to be an addict like my parents." He hoped to "never give up my fight with depression." He loved welding, as shown in Figure 4.5. He dreamed of becoming a "skilled and qualified welder." He worked, alongside his uncle, for a construction company. This beam was the first project he welded "without any help."

Figure 4.5: "Beam on ceiling" by Jade (Photovoice task 1)

Raven

Raven saw herself as a "loner and an introvert" because she preferred "spending time alone." This was reflected in her hobbies that included reading, painting and drawing in her bedroom. Raven has distanced herself from her relatives following abuse perpetrated by

family members. She explained, “I have a hard time forgiving people so it’s impossible to have a lot of friends.” She believed her “only friends” were her cousins Iris and Amelia. Raven’s “focus changed” once becoming pregnant which caused her to “be more mature” than her classmates. She defined maturity as “no longer using alcohol or drugs.” However, remaining substance-free during her pregnancy was difficult and caused Raven to “be grumpy and shaking.” She also dealt with depression and suicidal thoughts daily.

Raven’s hobbies included writing poetry, painting, drawing, reading, and basketball. She described herself as an “artist and an athlete.” Raven’s bedroom walls were “covered in an ongoing mural.” Her photo, in Figure 4.6 was taken to show “my dream of being a photographer.” When taking photos, Raven felt “happy and creative.” Writing of short stories was another artistic endeavour. Being an artist helped Raven to see “beauty in the world not just the hard things in my life.”

Figure 4.6: “One of many” by Raven (photovoice task 1)

She wanted to finish secondary school before her baby was born. Her photo, in Figure 4.7 was taken following the confirmation that she was pregnant.

Figure 4.7: "Time for my future" by Raven (photovoice task 1)

She said, "finding out I was pregnant caused confusing emotions." In Figure 4.7, Raven is "thinking about all the things I need to focus on becoming [*to ensure that*] my baby has a really good childhood." Continuing to battle her substance addictions and depression were among her future goals, which she considered "essential to being a good mom." Raven aspired to be the "best mom by actually taking care of and listening to my child." She viewed becoming "financially stable" as central to ensuring that her child would be "free from the foster care system." She hoped to build a "healthy relationship" with a romantic partner. Raven dreamed of playing basketball while attending university to study photography or graphic design, and also aspired to be a published author. She hoped that a book about her life story would "really help other struggling Anishinaabe teens."

Iris

Iris described herself as "loud, outgoing, bossy and opinionated." She enjoyed "meeting new people" and said that participating in this research caused her to see "all my different sides like, my angry side, traditional Anishinaabe side, hard-working side, tomboy side, and nature-loving side." As the oldest student at SLSS, Iris considered herself to be a "leader because I give advice and maintained the rules of the school." As a youth member[93] of her reserve band council she was a leader in her reserve.

Iris was judgmental of herself saying "I'm a bad diabetic…fiery person and a drug addict." Iris worried about coping with depression, type 1 diabetes, and her anger issues. She said that she lacks "control over my angry emotions" which resulted in frequent verbal and

[93] Youth member of band council is an elected position. The youth band council members meet monthly and send a delegate to each of the full reserve band council meetings.

physical altercations with others. She considered herself to be a "really emotional person with anger issues."

Iris sees herself as a "tomboy" because she "loves doing physical things" like during the hunting season, she participates in every part of the community hunting trips. Iris described herself as a "spiritual person who is connected" to her culture. Her photos "My beading" (p. 133) and "Feathers" (p. 139) were taken to show that she "loves being Anishinaabe." In her spare time, Iris enjoyed swimming, hiking, hunting, fishing, lifting weights, writing poetry, and putting on makeup.

Iris aspired to be the first person in her family to finish secondary school. Her photo in Figure 4.8, conveyed that completing secondary school represented "overcoming the greatest obstacle of my life." During secondary school, Iris' mom died and Iris was diagnosed with type 1 diabetes, which she says makes it "really hard to get school work done." She considered "dropping out of school but if I did that [*dropped out*] I'd feel like nothing."

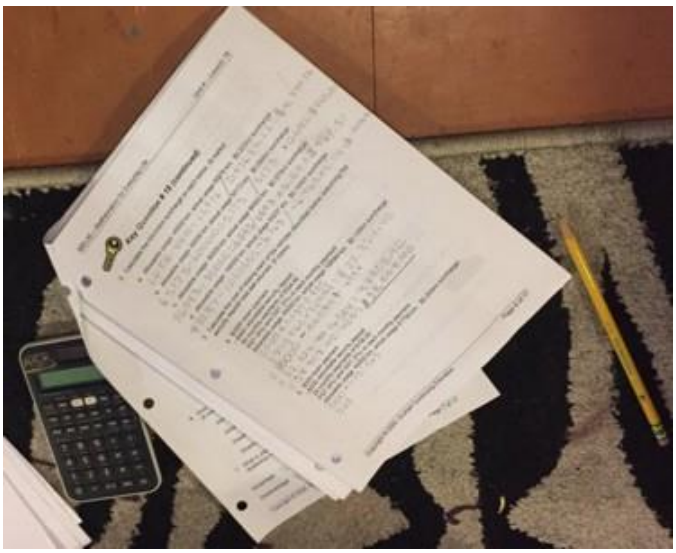


Figure 4.8: "Student" by Iris (photovoice task 2)

In the future, she wanted to apprentice in heavy machinery and carpentry. After that, she dreamed of starting her own construction company that would operate exclusively in reserves "to fix the housing shortages." Her company would also allow young people like herself to "strengthen the community by not moving away to get a job in a white town." She hoped to "find real love" which she defined as a "healthy, committed, non-abusive relationship" and "to become a mother." Iris yearned to follow the example of her father and become "drug and alcohol-free."

Sage

When asked to describe herself, Sage said, "smiley" despite her ongoing "fight with depression." Sage said "I work hard at being happy and seeing beauty in my life." Sage felt like she was a "sensitive and caring person but easily hurt by people." She described herself

as a “lesbian who might be bisexual.” Telling others about her sexuality brought “peace” and was the topic of her photo “Happy” (p. 132) which is explained later in this chapter. She volunteered as a youth leader for a Two-Spirited[94], lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex and asexual (2SLGBTQQIA+) support group that planned local events.

Sage’s hobbies included swimming, puzzles, watching films, baking cakes, hiking, canoeing, rapping, and drumming. She called herself a “spiritual person” exclaiming that “I am in love with my culture.” Sage described herself as “outdoorsy” because I feel the most comfortable in nature.” She also considered herself an artist because she “loved taking photos of nature.” A non-profit organisation invited Sage to try out singing and song writing, which is depicted in Figure 4.9. She explained that Figure 4.9 showed “I love adventure like trying new things.”

Figure 4.9: “New Hobby” by Sage (photovoice task 2)

She worried that her “issues with writing, spelling, and reading” would make it “hard” for her to finish school. Sage wanted to attend police academy so she could “fight the racism faced by Indigenous people.” If policing proved unattainable because of her “reading issues,” Sage planned to become a “nature photographer.”

She wanted to find a “woman that loves me as a life partner” and have children “using a sperm donor.” She believed it was “important to have children to keep my tribe together.”

[94] Two-Spirited is a term used commonly among Anishinaabe peoples to describe sexuality and gender identities within Indigenous ways of knowing. This acronym is widely used in Canada. Indigenous activists lobbied for placing the Two-Spirited identity first in the acronym to forefront Indigenous knowledges.

After watching her aunt die from alcohol-induced liver failure, Sage wanted to "stop being an addict" herself. She hoped to "build a happy life living on my reserve." Her "ultimate life goal is to become an elder someday."

Cedar

Cedar described himself as "a guy who likes to learn about the world." Learning at school caused him to think "about big questions like the meaning of life." His inquisitive nature caused him to feel like "an old soul stuck in a teenager's body." Cedar thought others his age "passed through life like it's a dream—not thinking deeply" which made it difficult for him to connect with his peers. He considered himself to be "a traditional Anishinaabe guy because I practice spiritual ceremonies a lot."

He referred to himself as a "bad ass who used to steal, beat people, vandalise reserve buildings, and lie [*when he was*]…trying to fit in with a group of bad people." His past made him think he was "still a bad person." He feared that his substance addictions could "ruin" his future and cause him to do "other bad things again."

Cedar's interests included politics, swimming, reading, fishing, hiking, and playing video games. Mystery books were his favourite genre of literature because he liked "solving problems." His photo in Figure 4.10, shows his videogame system which he played at least "two hours a day as an escape from my worries."

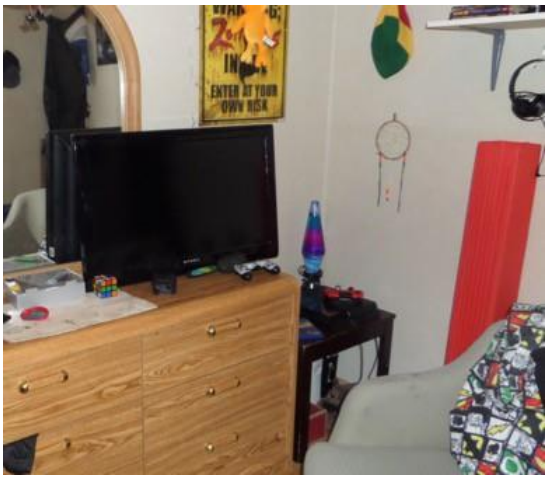


Figure 4.10: "My setup" by Cedar (photovoice task 1)

Cedar contemplated the "injustices and losses" faced by Indigenous people which inspired him to "be a politician." He was also a youth band council member. Cedar wanted to be elected chief and later the prime minister. His political aspirations were driven by his goal to "change the world not just for Indigenous people but other people hurting too." He believed that being an elected official could be obstructed by "failing at school." In Figure 4.11, his photo shows that "I really try to stay in school but I think about just dropping out."

Figure 4.11: "My bag" by Cedar (photovoice task 2)

Cedar aspired to be "drug-free because substances are destroying my body and mind." In the future, he wanted to become a father, "who lives a healthy, substance-free, life to set a good example for my children and the whole reserve."

Honesty seemed limited to one's self, whereas, love, the teaching outlined next, included relationships with others.

Zaagidwin (Love)

During a talking circle, Amelia said love meant "caring unconditionally for others." Iris thought love meant "always hoping the best of others." Their understandings of this teaching caused the young people to place photos depicting relationships they believed demonstrated or should involve unconditional love. During the preliminary interviews, each of the young people identified their closest friends who included cousins and pets. Despite negative experiences, the young people also included birth parents in this teaching, to indicate they still had feelings of love for them. As such, this section explores relationships with cousins, pets, and birth parents.

Amelia, Jade, Cedar, and Raven attributed their longstanding friendships with their cousins to being raised in the same homes by their grandparents. When Amelia's grandmother cared for her, she lived with two other cousins whom she still identified as her "best friends." Similarly, Jade's best friend was a cousin who previously lived with him. Jade described this relationship as sharing "everything like a room and a bed — plus all these memories". The young people often referred to their cousins as "brothers" and "sisters."

Relationships with cousins were described as a source of encouragement. Amelia, Iris, and Raven were cousins who shared a deep bound. Although they no longer lived in the same

house, they saw each other every day. Amelia saw their relationship as a source of "motivation to get a job and go to school." Her photo, in Figure 4.12, was taken to show that, "my cousins are my best friends after my grandma died."

Figure 4.12: "Family" by Amelia (Photovoice task 1)

Iris explained their friendship by saying that Raven and Amelia "were more like sisters than cousins because I tell them anything." When she was ten-years-old, Iris confided to Raven that she had been sexually assaulted, and Raven immediately told the teacher. Iris thought this story showed she could "count on her [*Raven to*] always be there" [*for her*]. Raven explained her "cousin besties[95] as "standing up" for her. In Figure 4.13, Raven's photo featured her favourite drink which was given to her by Amelia. Raven found this "touching since no one else in my life cares enough to know what things I like."

[95] Bestie is slang for best friend.

Figure 4.13: "Arizona" by Raven (Photovoice task 1)

Sage also listed two cousins as her best friends, and one of them, Sam, was the family member she selected to be interviewed. She described her best friends as "always being there when I need help, love, and acceptance."

Cedar identified a cousin as his best friend, explaining that he was the "older cousin so I look out for him." Cedar's cousin lived "in poverty with a mom that's a drug addict." Cedar tried to help him because often he had "no food or heat." Cedar saw his cousin as "basically a brother who relies on me." His photo in Figure 4.14, was taken to depict how his friendship with this cousin involved helping him meet basic needs.

Figure 4.14: "Fighting with Poverty" by Cedar (Photovoice task 1)

Jade's best friend was an older cousin he described as being "like a brother and a role model." Jade explained that his cousin "made time to talk and help me out." In discussing their friendship, Jade said it was a "give and take." When his grandma moved, Jade no longer lived near his cousin, and he made "friends outside of family." Jade was the only young person with friends that were not family members. His photo shown in Figure 4.15 includes his friends inside a classroom at SLSS. He described these two young women as "basically sisters that I trust a lot." Their mutual struggles with "depression and family issues" drew them together as friends.

Figure 4.15: "Best friends forever" by Jade (Photovoice task 1)

Each of the young people talked about the negative influence of some friends. As a young teenager, Amelia believes she "got into a bad crowd of friends" who encouraged her "to take drugs." Jade mentioned having a "bad group of friends" that participated in illegal activities. After a while, he learned that "people pull you down…so you fall down with them." Coming to SLSS separated him from these people allowing him to find "some real friends." Raven explained that she had "fr-enemies[96] who pretended to care about me but actually pulled me into doing bad things." The young people seemed reluctant to identify family members as having a negative influence. For example, although Amelia acknowledged that Iris encouraged her to consume drugs she still considered Iris to be a "good friend."

Throughout the interviews, siblings were rarely mentioned as friends, perhaps because the young people did not live with their siblings. Jade was the only young person that resided with siblings. His relationship with his siblings was framed as that of a caregiver, rather than a friend, which is explored later. Sage had lived with a sibling intermittently, and was the only young person to take a photo featuring siblings. This photo, displayed in Figure 4.16, was taken to show that "my sisters always stand up for me even though we live in different homes."

[96] Fr-enemies is slang for people who act like friends but actually do not consider others' best interests and could be termed as enemies.

Figure 4.16: "Family is forever" by Sage (Photovoice task 2)

The young people frequently identified pets as "best friends" and apart from Cedar they all photographed pets.[97] Amelia, Sage, and Jade repeatedly stated that being responsible for "someone else" helped them feel loved. Amelia said, "love your animals and they will love you back." Sage reiterated this idea by saying "my dog is not a pet but more like member of the family that always loves me." The young people said that pets provided safety and emotional companionship.

Being accompanied by a dog during treks outside provided additional safety for the young people. For example, when Sage fell through the ice on a frozen lake, her dog ran to get help. Iris and Jade also shared stories of their dogs running for help during emergencies outside. This notion of safety seemed to extend beyond physical safety to include feeling emotionally safe as well. Raven explained that "cuddling with my cat makes me feel better." Her photo, in Figure 4.17, was taken to show "that no matter what—my cat always loves me."

[97] Cedar explained that his family's lack of pets was due to his dad having allergies.

Figure 4.17: "My Muse" by Raven (Photovoice task 1)

Iris' dog caused her to feel "happy and warm inside because he [*her dog*] is always excited to see me." In the wake of her mother's death, having a dog reminded her that she "was not alone and that life can still be happy." Iris took a photo called "*Doggo*[98]" (Figure 4.18) to show that pets "are important in my life."

Figure 4.18: "Doggo" by Iris (Photovoice task 1)

This idea of a pet providing both physical and emotional safety was captured in Figure 4.19. This photo depicted the Amelia "feels safe knowing that my cats watch out for me."

[98] *Doggo* is the Anishinaabe word for dog.

Figure 4.19: "My everyday life" by Amelia (Photovoice task 1)

Jade's dog was the "only constant relationship" in his life, and together they spent many hours in the forest. His photo presented in Figure 4.20, was taken to show their special relationship. Jade said, "when I feel sad and cry my dog sits next to me." Jade's dog was his "best friend because he's there for me whenever I'm down."

Figure 4.20: "My dog" by Jade (Photovoice task 1)

This idea was shared by Sage who believed that her dog knew when she was "down because he [*my dog*] comes and rubs against me." Sage took a photo of her dog, which she titled "Joy" (Figure 4.21) because "my dog always tries to cheer me up."

Figure 4.21: "Joy" by Sage (Photovoice 2)

Relationships with parents were complicated for each of the young people. Jade explained that he was "hurt and angry" at his birth parents for "abandoning me and not trying to contact me." Amelia said, "I never had a good relationship with my mother because she left me as a child." During the first interview, when asked what might hold them back from living their dreams Amelia, Raven, and Sage reported that their mothers could stop them from living their dreams. This idea was featured in a photo taken by Raven called "Family feedback" (Figure 4.22).

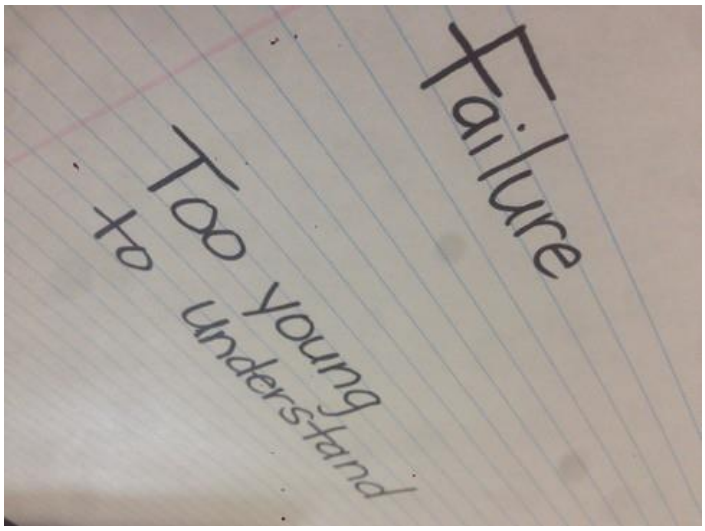


Figure 4.22: "Family feedback" by Raven (Photovoice task 2)

Raven created this image showing how her mother saw her. Raven's mother frequently discouraged her saying, " I will never amount to anything but a drunk teenage mom." These comments made Raven feel "crappy but motivated to prove my mom wrong." Amelia said that her mom got "jealous when good things happen to me." After telling her mom that she was graduating secondary school her mom said, "you could never do something good like that."

The family members who were interviewed seemed worried that their respective young people might feel abandoned and resentful towards their parents. Blossom, Jade's grandma, said Jade "is resentful towards his parents because he gets hurt quite a lot by them." Miigwen, Iris' father worried that Iris "could focus on the bad things her mother did and get really depressed." Yet, the young people explained trying to love their birth parents despite difficult situations, and they usually contextualised their parents' neglect.

When discussing their parents' actions, the young people explained the various hardships their parents faced. For example, each of the young people mentioned being born to a teenage mother. Amelia's mom was 15 years old when she gave birth. Amelia considered her mother "still a child herself who wasn't at the stage in life to take care of a kid." The young people contextualised their parents by considered substance addictions. Cedar explained that his mother went "to narcotics anonymous but still took drugs a lot." Amelia recounted that, at six-years-old, she awoke to her baby brother crying and realised her mother had "gone to party." After trying to soothe the baby, she went outside and "a random old woman came to help me." Jade shared a story about being abandoned for four days in the winter at age eight, as his parents "used crack." Cedar recounted that his mom traded "our food for drugs and alcohol." Raven believed that the lack of food in her mom's house was because "all our money went to alcohol."

The young people considered residential schooling to be the underlying cause for parental neglect. Cedar explained "taking kids [*to residential schools*] caused parenting skills to be lost." Barbra, an elder, added that "an aftermath of residential schooling is parents needing to learn how to engage with their children." Blossom, Jade's grandma, said "difficult home situations are common today because residential schooling causes parents to be lost in their own problems." Raven's photo titled "We're still here" (Figure 4.23) was taken because her mom "always forgot to be a mom." Raven said her "great-grandma, grandma, and mom were not capable of being parents because they were in residential school, which messes up my entire family chain. No one feels like they deserve to be loved."

Figure 4.23: "We're still here" by Raven (Photovoice task 1)

For the young people, grandparents, aunts, and uncles often fulfilled caregiving roles which aligned with the teaching of wisdom examined below.

Nibwaakaawin (Wisdom)

During the talking circles, wisdom was discussed as a process of learning and gaining knowledge. Cedar clarified that "elders are the sources of wisdom." Elders were considered to be in the final stage of life, and were responsible to pass wisdom down to younger generations. This idea was shared by Iris who thought wisdom was "listening to the teachings of the elders." All grandparents were considered elders by the young people meaning they used these terms interchangeably.

The prominent role of grandparents in Anishinaabe communities was frequently mentioned during the elder interviews. Darryl an elder himself, referred to his grandfather as a "role model" and believed grandparents were "just as important today." Younger generations were expected to respect and take care of the elders in their reserve. Iris explained that in the winter she "shovels snow and brings food to the elders." In addition, aunts and uncles were discussed as another source of wisdom. Consequently, photos concerning grandparents, aunts, and uncles were placed within this teaching.

All of the students except Iris,[99] spent a significant portion of their childhood being raised by grandparents, who were usually deemed to be consistently supportive. During my fieldwork, Blossom, Jade's grandma, was raising five grandchildren. Jade saw Blossom as "mentally stable" and a "woman who can take on anything." Blossom recounted removing

[99] Both sets of Iris' grandparents passed away before she was born. However, she regarded the elders from the community to be "like grandparents."

Jade from his parents' care when she found him living in "horrendous conditions." His photo titled, "Lovely grandma", shown in Figure 4.24, was taken because "she is the best person in the entire world."

Figure 4.24: "Lovely grandma" By Jade (Photovoice task 1)

Jade thought that "everyone should have a grandma [*like Blossom*] because you can't go at the world alone." He said "each night my grandma kisses me and says 'I love you.'" He knew that his grandma struggled to provide heat and food. This caused Jade to "never ask for anything because our money is needed to raise the little kids" living in their house. Jade explained feeling responsible for helping his grandma, saying he "felt like ice that might crack, but I have to be strong all the time because it's me and my grandma fighting the world."

Amelia was raised by her grandma. Like Blossom, Amelia's grandma took care of multiple grandchildren. Amelia reminisced about the years she spent living with her grandma who she called her "best friend." They spent time together swimming, baking, tobogganing, feeding hummingbirds, dancing at powwows, planting vegetables, and doing Sudoku puzzles. This time spent together caused Amelia to feel like she had a "home."

Sage's mother was a binge drinker, so for the past year, Sage lived with grandparents. When Sage told her family she was a lesbian, her grandpa said, "we love you and who you love doesn't matter." The support Sage had from her grandpa caused her to take the photo in Figure 4.25 because it showed her "whole world."

Figure 4.25: "Papa" by Sage (Photovoice task 1)

Grandparents motivated the young people to complete secondary school. Jade's grandma was hidden in the forest to escape residential schooling, and thus she " never had the chance to get an education." This inspired Jade to "make a vow to finish high school." Sage said, "I promised my grandpa that I will finish high school because he was hid from residential schooling meaning he never had the chance to learn how to read." After being expelled from provincial school, Sage's grandma enrolled her at SLSS. Figure 4.26 depicting Sage's grandma, was taken to show that she is "grateful my grandma makes me go to school."

Figure 4.26: "Grandma" by Sage (Photovoice task 1)

As a 12-year-old, Amelia's grandma ran away from her residential school. Then as a 50-year-old, her grandma completed secondary school to "be a good example to her grandkids." This inspired Amelia to stay in school.

Sharing cultural knowledge was the most widely discussed role of grandparents. Amelia explained that her grandma taught her how to dance at powwows. Cedar's grandma taught him traditional Anishinaabe stories. Sage's grandpa taught her Anishinaabe ceremonies. Sage's photo in Figure 4.27 shows the inside of a tepee that she built with her grandpa to smoke fish. While the fish smoked, Sage and her grandpa drummed and sang.

Figure 4.27: "Proud Anishinaabe" by Sage (Photovoice task 2)

Each of the participants feared the death of a grandparent. After the death of her grandma, "everything in my life [*Amelia's life*] was worse." She started "taking drugs, drinking, and sneaking out at night." The loss also caused her to be "less involved in my culture." Both Jade and Sage worried about coping after the death of their grandparents. Jade said, "the thought of losing my grandma is terrifying because I could do bad things like serious drugs again." Blossom was his last living grandparent meaning he was unsure where he and his younger siblings would live after her death. Similarly, Sage worried that her grandpa's death could "leave me lonely and uncared for."

Raven and Sage discussed what it meant when grandparents did not fulfil their community's expectations. Raven thought her grandma was not fulfilling the role of an elder, because when she was 10-years-old, Raven's grandma gave her alcohol and encouraged her to "get drunk." She was removed from her grandma's home by child and family services (CFS).[100] Raven explained, "my grandma is not supportive and just doesn't care about me." This continued to the present day, and Raven said her grandma "still pulls me into doing bad things." Raven was angry that her grandma "let residential school get to her so badly since it ruined my life too." Sage also expressed dismay that her grandma was "not acting like an elder." Sage moved out of her grandma's house after being "physically assaulted" by her

[100] Child and Family Services (CFS) is a government organisation designed to better the well- being of children and youth facing unfortunate situations. This is the agency with the jurisdiction to remove children from their home. This agency also oversees the foster care system.

grandma. This made Sage question whether her grandma cared for her. She "forgave" her grandma and kept spending time with her, because her alcoholism resulted from "being raped at residential school."

Aunts and uncles were discussed as another source of support and cultural knowledge. Some of the young people reporting living with aunts and uncles. After being kicked out of his parent's home, Cedar's aunt welcomed him into her home. This was similar to Sage' s experience. Her aunt had been her "best friend" and "second mother," and after her death, Sage said she was "truly alone and depressed." Jade referred to his uncle as a "role model who taught me more than welding…like how to be a good person." Iris' aunts helped to raise her treating her like "their daughter." This feeling of acceptance was captured by her photo called "*Giigoo*" (Figure 4.28) which means "fish" in Anishinaabe. Being invited to get this family tattoo meant she was accepted. Male relatives, especially uncles were discussed as betraying their roles as elders because of perpetrating sexual abuse, however, this will be examined later in chapter 5 (p.157).

Figure 4.28: "Giigoo" by Iris (Photovoice task 1)

Dbaadendizwin (Humility)

Humility was described by Jade during a talking circle as "realising that other people depend on me." For Raven, humility involved "trying to become a better person." Sage thought that a romantic relationship required humility because in romantic relationships "you try to become the best parts of yourself." This section explores the two themes found within

the photos representing humility: the role of caring for younger children, and romantic relationships.

During the interviews, being responsible for rearing siblings, nieces, nephews, and biological children was widely discussed. For the young people, taking care of others often lead them to become better people. For instance, Jade's photo presented in Figure 4.29 featured his nephew whom Jade "helps to raise."

Figure 4.29: "My baby" by Jade (Photovoice task 1)

When describing this relationship, Jade said that his nephew "is my baby." He bathed, fed, and played with his nephew every day. This photo made him feel stressed because caring for his nephew "is a big burden on my shoulders but this little man relies on me." Jade also described himself as "a father figure" to his younger brother and sister. Jade believed, knowing that they "look up to me makes me a better person." Yet, Blossom, Jade's grandma, worried that his childrearing responsibilities meant Jade "never gets to be a kid himself."

Iris also described "mothering" her nephew who resided in her home, calling him her "baby." Iris said she "watched him take his first steps, changed his diapers, and made dinner most nights for the past six years!" The photo below, called "Home" (Figure 4.30) shows where Iris waited for the school bus to drop her nephew off. She told her nephew "seeing this tree means he's home and I'll be waiting for him."

Figure 4.30: "Home" by Iris (Photovoice task 1)

Being responsible for caring for him caused Iris to feel "needed, trusted, and strong." Raising her nephew helped Iris to "make better life decisions" like striving to live substance-free.

Raven was pregnant and gave birth to her first child during my fieldwork. Her photo called, "My baby" (Figure 4.31) features her ultrasound photos placed on top of her school work because she was "doing my best for this baby by finishing school." Having this baby made Raven feel "humble about my own struggles with drugs and alcohol."

Figure 4.31: "My baby" by Raven (Photovoice task 1)

Raven's photo in Figure 4.32, stirred feelings of "pride and happiness because my body is making life." Being responsible for another person made her feel "better and stronger." This photo was taken to express the "high hopes" she had for the person she would become raising her baby.

Figure 4.32: "Baby bump" by Raven (Photovoice task 2)

All of the young people talked about romantic relationships. While Iris, Amelia and Jade had ongoing romantic partners during the fieldwork, Sage, Raven and Cedar discussed previous romantic relationships. Attempting to overcome feelings of rejection from their own family members was listed as a key reason for entering romantic relationships. When discussing his girlfriend, Jade said, "she's like my fill-in mom because I never had a mom growing up." Raven's former boyfriend and the father of her child "was there for me like the family I'd never had growing up." After being homeless for a few months, Amelia lived with her boyfriend Kodack's family who she described as "basically raising me for the past three years."

Relying on romantic partners for encouragement to finish school and fighting addictions was mentioned by each of the young people. Jade and his girlfriend struggled with suicidal thoughts which helped them to "understand each other." Jade thought that his girlfriend "helps me…when no one else can by talking and listening to me." Similarly, Cedar explained that his former girlfriend was "into sports and not drugs" which helped him deal with his own addictions. Amelia said her relationship with Kodack was mutually helpful, as they "motivated each other to finish school." Her photo shown in Figure 4.33, was taken at the restaurant where Kodack worked because Amelia was "proud of his job." She hoped this photo would show that "our relationship is about helping each other."

Figure 4.33: "Day by day" by Amelia (Photovoice task 1)

All of the young people discussed the pain of being cheated on by a romantic partner. Jade said he was "really hurt badly [*when a previous girlfriend*] went to parties and cheated on me." When this happened, he would "remember being rejected by my parents." Iris explained that her current boyfriend was "a really big cheater" and that this "kinda [*sic*] messes up my sense of worth." [101] Amelia knew that Kodack "cheats when he's out partying without me" so she regularly violated the terms of her parole, to regulate Kodack's "cheating behaviours." Not trusting her boyfriend caused Amelia to feel "upset and insecure." Similarly, Raven's previous boyfriend cheated on her, which was the topic of her drawing titled, "Being made cautious" (Figure 3.34). This photo showed that her "heart had been torn out." Raven said that being cheated on "makes me cautious about opening up to anyone in the future."

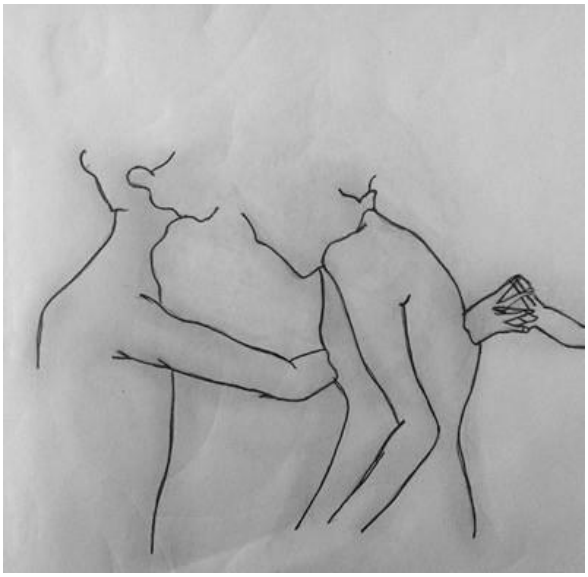


Figure 4.34: "Being made cautious" by Raven (Photovoice task 1)

[101] In response to his cheating, Iris wrote poetry. These poems explored how being cheated on made her feel. One stanza read: "You f**ked with my head so bad/So why do I miss something we never really had? / I want you to be mine all the time/but how can I tell the truth from a lie?"

Amelia, Raven, and Iris expressed that the previous sexual abuse they suffered as children caused feelings of shame and worthlessness in their romantic relationships. Childhood sexual abuse made Raven feel she "doesn't deserve a romantic partner ever." Amelia shared her history of sexual abuse with her boyfriend Kodack but avoided "telling him how much the abuse still affects me." Sometimes Kodack triggers "flashbacks, zone outs, and panic attacks." Iris feared that being a victim of sexual abuse "messes up any of my future relationships because I don't feel good about myself."

Being a victim of childhood sexual abuse seemed to normalise abuse within romantic relationships. Raven said, "I was beaten up and taken advantage of sexually by a few of my previous boyfriends." She accepted this abuse because she felt "really dirty and damaged" from being sexually abused when she was younger. Iris felt sexual abuse caused her to "stay in abusive relationships because no one else will ever want me." During my fieldwork, there were concerns that Amelia and Iris were in abusive romantic relationships.[102]

Debewin (Truth)

Amelia felt that "being true to yourself means sticking up for your beliefs." Cedar considered truth to be about "following one's own journey even when it's hard." In the powwow photovoice exhibit, the young people placed photos depicting gender and sexuality within this category. Gender was explained by the young people as involving missing and murdered Indigenous women, abuse, gender norms, and gendered Anishinaabe teachings.

During data collection, two Anishinaabe women who were cousins of students at SLSS were murdered. In addition to the recent murdered women, each of the young people had a female relative that was missing or murdered. The fear of being "the next" woman to go missing was expressed by each of the female young people. Raven said, "we are being targeted me and my friends are unsafe." The elders and young people offered possible reasons why Indigenous women were being murdered. Alice, an elder, believed that "we are targeted because we are vulnerable because of high rates of using drugs and alcohol." Raven agreed that alcohol made "any Anishinaabe women an easy target" because in the most recent murders both women were intoxicated. Sage believed that "Anishinaabe woman are slowly being scraped off the earth because people [*settlers*] don't like our race." Racism, for Amelia

[102] Amelia often came to school with injuries like bruises, which she claimed came from "tripping," "rolling out of bed," or "sleep walking." At one point, she came to school with a chipped tooth, facial bruising, and a cut on her neck. Iris discussed abuse in previous romantic relationships, but often she also came to school with injuries. When asked the causes of these injuries she refused to respond. Her cousins feared that Iris was being "beat" by her current boyfriend. I brought my concerns to the principal of SLSS. The teachers kept an ongoing record of visible injuries, and information about the women's shelter was shared with all of SLSS's students.

was the reason behind the murdered and missing Anishinaabe women because "no one listens to Indigenous people." Racism will be further explored in chapter 6.

Each of the female young people changed their behaviours in an attempt to avoid becoming a victim. Amelia stopped going to "drinking parties because I could be preyed on when I'm drunk." Similarly, Raven avoided "walking alone at night and being alone in busy public places." My fieldnote journal recorded an interaction with Sage who saw an Anishinaabe woman wearing a skirt. This caused Sage to say, Anishinaabe women needed to cover up their bodies to prevent attacks. The male young people discussed how they tried to protect female friends and siblings. Jade worried about his young sister being "targeted when she drinks at parties so I go to all the same parties." He also worried about his female friends and "tried to look out for them because they could be next to go missing." In his reserve, Cedar "always walks girls home at night because it's never safe."

Abuse was considered something that disproportionately impacted females. Each of the young people reported that their mothers and grandmas had been victims of physical abuse. Sage wondered what "a non- abusive relationship with a man would look like" because both of her grandmothers and mother had physically abusive partners. My fieldnote journal recorded a conversation between a group of female students where Raven said abuse "was part of being Anishinaabe women." In response Amelia said that "all of my girl cousins have been abused." When discussing the high prevalence of abuse among Indigenous women, Iris stated, "I can't see a solution, but I wish I could tell all men to never harm a woman."

Anishinaabe teachings concerning gendered roles were discussed by the elders and young people. Rowen, an elder, explained that in Anishinaabe culture, tasks were gender-based with "men looking after the fire and women providing water." Miigwen, Iris' father, explained that in Anishinaabe communities "men provided the meat and women gathered food." This traditional division of labour aligned with Jade's and Cedar's household responsibilities which included finding wood, hunting, and trapping. Jade explained that "doing these things for the house make me feel more Anishinaabe."

Iris' photo presented in Figure 4.35, called "Gender buster" was taken to show that "I can be really girly but I am also capable of hard labour."

Figure 4.35: "Gender Buster" by Iris (Photovoice task 1)

She said "I do a lot of things that normal girls don't do like chopping wood, operating a chainsaw, hunting, and trapping." Iris said, "I like being in the hunting group [*for her reserve]* even though being a woman makes me stick out." Her father called Iris "my son because she does all the boy-things in the reserve." None of the other female young people reported participating in activities commonly viewed as masculine, but they discussed female role models. Sage reported respecting her grandma because she "doesn't need a man because she uses her own muscles to do everything like hunting and stuff." Jade admired his grandma for participating in "activities men usually do." He said that his grandma did "everything—so she doesn't need no [*sic*] man."

Anishinaabe views of womanhood centred on women being powerful because of motherhood. Iris said that in her culture women were "powerful creatures" linked to having children. The "power" that women embodied could overpower men, causing limitations in female participation in spiritual ceremonies. Menstruation, referred to as "moon time," was discussed by each of the female young people. Iris said that during "moon time women are more powerful than normal" thus prohibiting women from participating in Anishinaabe ceremonies. Sage said it was difficult for her to "cope with addiction and depression during my moon time because drumming and smudging are forbidden."

Sage and her cousin Sam were the only participants who discussed sexuality. Sam explained that prior to European contact, Anishinaabe sexuality was "fluid and less constrained with Anishinaabe people having new partners with different genders and not just valuing lifelong partners." Sage pointed out that Anishinaabe communities shared childrearing responsibilities, saying that "heterosexual family structures came from settlers and colonisation."

Sage reported that her family members were "really open and accepting of my sexuality." At the age of 11, Sage realised that she "was attracted to girls and I came out to

my family as a lesbian." Thereafter, Sage said "I started feeling closer to my family." Feelings of acceptance also came from participating in 2SLGBTQQIA+ events. Sage said that she "didn't know about the 2SLGBTQQIA+ community until I went to pride week [*in a settler town which*] opened me up to whole different world that is awesome." As a member of a regional 2SLGBTQQIA+ support group that met weekly, Sage organised events and tried to "reach out to other Anishinaabe people that might be struggling."

Sage encountered homophobia at her previous school where she was "teased and bullied a lot by white Catholic kids that called me a 'disgrace.'" This led to her enrolment at SLSS where she reported "never being bullied for being gay." Sage combatted homophobia by seeking to "forgive people because it's better to forgive and forget than to have a bunch of negative energy." This was depicted in Figure 4.36 with her photo titled "Happy" which showed her "being true" to herself. This photo captured that on this "confusing journey of my sexuality" Sage felt "strong and proud because I'm not scared to live my truth."

Figure 4.36: "Happy" by Sage (Photovoice task 1)

Mauaadendmowin (Respect)

In a talking circle, Amelia said "pride about being Anishinaabe" was necessary "to living the teaching of respect." To the young people, cultural pride included creating Anishinaabe artefacts. Cedar added that respect entailed valuing "who you are and where you came from." Iris explained that this meant "honouring" deceased "ancestors." Alice, an elder, explained that "the spirit world is here on earth because our deceased family members remain on our land." For Rowen, "the spirit world is very close but unseen by living humans." The

young people seemed to believe in the closeness of the spirit world, and when discussing deceased loved ones the young people used present tense.

Amelia, Iris, and Jade expressed that creating Anishinaabe artefacts made them feel proud of being Anishinaabe. At the powwow photovoice exhibit, the young people decided to display Anishinaabe artefacts made by fellow SLSS students (see p.87). Iris took the photo shown in Figure 4.37 to represent being "a traditional Anishinaabe person."

Figure 4.37: "My beading" by Iris (Photovoice task 2)

The young people made hand drums, which involved a series of ceremonies.[103] Sage's photo shown in Figure 4.38 was taken because drumming daily "make me feel connected with my ancestors." She believed that drumming was "like talking to my ancestors through music."

[103] I had the opportunity to make a drum and participate in these ceremonies with the students. However, at the time of my invitation, Alice, an elder, explained that the songs, offerings, and feasting that associated the birthing of a drum are considered sacred. They believed that the general teachings should be shared in my report, however, the specific procedures should remain untold.

Figure 4.38: "Drum" by Sage (Photovoice prompt 1)

Similarly, Raven often drummed for "the baby I aborted that is on the other side." She reported "that singing to the baby makes me feel happy." For the powwow photovoice exhibit, Jade, Sage, Amelia, and Cedar submitted their drums to be displayed.

Ribbon skirts were another cultural artefact that the female students sewed and wore frequently. Sage explained that ribbon skirts "connected women to the earth and should be worn during ceremonies." Each of the female students owned a ribbon skirt, and Amelia made me a ribbon skirt to wear at the powwow photovoice exhibit.[104]

[104] To keep the gift as a surprise, they worked on it after school. When giving me the skirt, an SLSS student explained that I "respected Anishinaabe people" and that she "wanted to say thank you for helping the whole school." The photo in Figure 4.39 was taken by an SLSS student right after Amelia gave me the ribbon skirt.

Figure 4.39: Ribbon skirt given by the students at SLSS

Connecting with the natural world by going on walks meant that the young people were connecting with their ancestors and the land. At the end of a walking interview with Amelia, she said "goodbye lovely birds and lake." Alice, an elder, explained Anishinaabe teachings as "everything having a spirit including the rocks, trees, animals, and grass." Rowen, an elder, explained that Anishinaabe people "have a connection to the land because everything is considered alive."

The young people believed that being on Anishinaabe land was a source of healing. Sage's photo presented in Figure 4.40, demonstrates how being in nature can be a source of healing.

Figure 4.40: "The Lake" by Sage (Photovoice task 2)

This photo showed that the "only time I feel peace is when I'm with the water because water heals people." Sage felt the water "healed" her because she considered water to have a spirit "that makes me feel warm, good, and peaceful." Sam, Sage's family member, reiterated this notion saying, "reconnecting to the land can heal Anishinaabe people." Alice said, "part of healing is reconnecting with the earth—to become grounded."

Animal sightings were interpreted as communication from deceased loved ones. During a walking interview with Jade, we saw a rare golden eagle that he believed was "an ancestor caring" for him. After the eagle flew away, Jade placed on offering of tobacco at the base of the tree to show "respect to my visiting ancestor." While walking with Iris, we saw a lynx which she considered to be a "sign of my relatives thinking of me." Likewise, during a walking interview with Amelia, we saw hummingbirds that Amelia said, "are my grandma reminding me that I'm loved." Sage took a photo titled, "The beach" (Figure 4.41) because at this beach she saw "a turtle meaning that one of my ancestors is looking out for me."

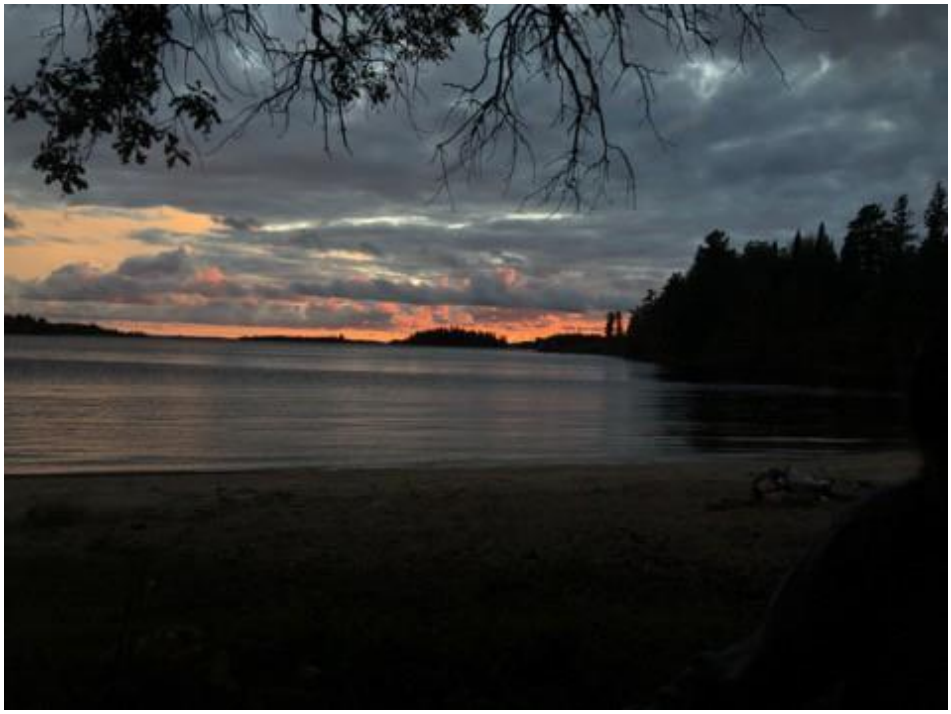


Figure 4.41: "The beach" by Sage (Photovoice task 2)

Each of the young people discussed participating in various Anishinaabe ceremonies to communicate with their ancestors. These included, smudging,[105] sweats, [106] food offerings,[107] and powwows. Smudging usually was accompanied by a prayer to an ancestor. Iris smudged at her mother's gravesite, followed be "telling my mom what's been happening in my life." Iris felt like her mom was "there with me every time I smudge." Alice, an elder, reported that during smudging, "I talk to my daughter and I feel her presence." Stewart, an elder, explained that smudging brings "me peace because I talk to my dad" [*who is deceased*].

Discussions about sweats with the young people and elders occurred with sense of reverence.[108] Iris went to sweats to "release a lot my intense sadness and anger about my mom

[105] This ceremony involved burning sage and wafting the fumes. Normally, smudging accompanies a silent prayer. This practice was commonly used to help others. For example, after completing my fieldwork, many the participants promised to "smudge" for my wellbeing and the project's ongoing progress. Blossom, Jade's grandma, told me, "I'll be smudging and praying for you and this work you're trying to do." The last time I saw Sage, she said, "Don't forget, we'll all be smudging for you." In addition to helping others, the practice helps the participant, as Iris explained, "smudging calms people down and cleans people." The majority of Anishinaabe ceremonies commence with smudging.

[106] Iris described that a sweat as "having hot rocks inside a cedar hut." The entire ceremony requires about three hours. Iris described the symbolism behind the ceremony as, "bringing people back to the womb---like you're being birthed again." This idea of being inside a womb and emerging into a new life was reiterated by Amelia and Sage.

[107] Food offerings involved bringing food to a secluded area and praying to the deceased ancestor. Food offerings for deceased tribal members occur individually or in conjunction with other Anishinaabe ceremonies. While teaching about this ceremony, Alice explained that "spirits on the other side are always hungry." In addition to providing for the spirits, Alice noted that the person giving the offering benefited from this practice by "feeling connected to others."

[108] Out of respect for the ceremony, the specificities of the students' experiences inside the sweat lodge were not explained during the interviews. However, the students were comfortable relaying the reasons for attending the ceremony.

dying." When participating in the ceremony, Iris said "I talk with my mom because she's physically there with me." Similarly, Amelia reporting that during sweats, "I talk with my grandma" [*who is deceased*].

Participating in offerings to ancestors allowed Sage, Amelia, and Raven to feel connected to their loved ones. Iris explained that deceased people "need food on the other side." When eating her grandma's favourite food, Amelia offered "a bit" in the forest and said a prayer to her grandma. This made her feel like she was "giving back" to her grandma. Cedar explained that offerings "put my mind at ease because I can do something that helps my family." During these offerings, Sage's "heart feels happy because I can feel my aunt."

Powwows were described as a ceremony that connected the young people to their ancestors. Raven explained that she "used to dance all the time which connects me to my culture." When she dances at powwows, Raven "feels truly alive and connected to my ancestors." Sage said that powwows "bring together all Indigenous people dead and alive." This connection to the ancestors came from participating in the same dances that have endured for centuries. Iris' photo shown in Figure 4.42, features her and a relative dressed in their regalia[109]at a powwow. This photo was taken to show that "I'm a proud Anishinaabe girl who loves my culture." For Iris, dancing at powwows was "really great but unexplainable because the music touches my soul."

[109] Iris' regalia, shown in the photo below, was made by her now deceased grandma and the colours of her dress held "deep spiritual meaning" for Iris because they were given to her by an elder in a vision.

Figure 4.42: "Feathers" by Iris (Photovoice task 2)

Aakwa'ode'ewin (Bravery)

During the talking circles, the young people agreed that bravery entailed facing struggles with school work, mental health, addiction, cultural loss, and racism. Chapter 5 concerning disability examines the photos pertaining to some of these challenges. Chapter 6 explores the young peoples' experiences of racism within schools. As such, this section addresses cultural loss. Iris explained that bravery meant "making the choice to face the world by living a more traditional Anishinaabe life." Similarly, Amelia believed that bravery involved "trying to be Anishinaabe all the time." Dealing with cultural loss and feeling responsible for cultural revitalisation was a consistent theme in the discussions concerning bravery.

The use of modern technology was considered to be barriers to living a "traditional Anishinaabe life." Take, for example, Raven who "wished to go back to older times without modern distractions like technology when my people lived off the land." Iris wished "to get rid of cars and go back to living with the land." Amelia shared that when in the forest, she often felt "sad about losing traditional ways imagining what life was like before white people came."

Cultural loss was primarily discussed in relation to land and language loss. Iris, Jade, and Cedar worried about ongoing environmental pollution, increased government regulations,

and persistent deforestation disrupting hunting, trapping, and fishing. Issues concerning land loss were directly linked to cultural loss. Sam, Sage's cousin, explained that "Our language is connected to the land and if we lose our land we lose our language." None of the young people were fluent in Anishinaabe. Iris worried that "we are already losing what's left of our culture because nobody speaks the language anymore." She said the "Anishinaabe language makes it so we are more connected to each other and everything in nature."

During the walking interviews, each of the young people explained that their Anishinaabe ancestors communicated with animals. Sage explained that "Anishinaabe people used to talk with the animals meaning we existed helping each other by communicating spirit to spirit." This form of the language "was lost when the traders and missionaries came, and understanding the world as connected was lost with our language." This meant that learning Anishinaabe was accompanied with a sense of loss because the current form of the language lacked the ability to communicate with animals. In a walking interview, Amelia said, "I wish I could talk to the animals and the trees because I'm missing out on so much of the world." Preserving the remaining form of Anishinaabe language was crucial to cultural revitalisation. Cedar felt that learning "how to speak Anishinaabe was needed to restore our culture." Raven hoped to "learn our language when my daughter is learning so we can strengthen our people." Jade explained that his grandma "has tried to teach me Anishinaabe but there isn't ever time to learn it."

The young people talked about the struggle of balancing traditional Anishinaabe ways while being in the ever-globalising world. Iris' mother and family were "not traditional which I think caused their addictions and other problems." This inspired Iris to be "really interested in my culture." Iris lamented that obstacles stopped her from living a "more traditional Anishinaabe life," and this included substance addiction. As Iris explained, "using drugs means I need to detox before participating in ceremonies." Despite her substance use, Iris recognised that she "can't live it two worlds because these two worlds don't fit together, but I don't have the will power need to be more traditional." However, Jade felt that balancing traditional Anishinaabe beliefs with "modern ideas" was possible, and referred to his grandma, as an example because she was an evangelical Christian who also participated in Anishinaabe ceremonies.

Cedar felt that Anishinaabe practices were "become less traditional" and that drummers at powwows expected to get paid. Cedar said, "powwows used to be about celebrating together but now it's becoming about money." He hoped that "my generation will bring back more traditional ways of living." Cedar's photo titled "The moon" (Figure 4.43) was taken to

show that his "ancestors used the moon as a timekeeper and model for how to live." This photo shows Cedar "trying to see traditional teachings daily."

Figure 4.43: "The moon" by Cedar (Photovoice task 2)

However, Cedar lamented that this was "basically impossible because of my addictions and video games." These games obstructed living a traditional life because he spent "too much time inside not being part of my community." His substance addictions made it "impossible to do most ceremonies."

Sage felt emboldened to seek a "more traditional life" after attending the powwow photovoice exhibit. She said the photos showed "me that trying to live more traditionally means being brave." Sage explained her dilemma of trying to live in "two worlds" by saying:

> We lost our connection to our culture—our connection to the land. But I don't know how you balance that out. Sometimes I just lay there and think, is it a good thing or is it bad? I know our culture is very important, but that was in the past. Now we have to move forward in order to survive in today's world. We have to be educated in order to survive. So, can we let the past go and move ahead, and then still always know where we come from and hold on to that? It's hard. I don't know how to really explain it.

For Sage, Indigenous people have "faced this situation" since European contact, however, "my generation might fail to live traditionally." She strived to learn from the elders because "after thousands of years of losing our culture, it's time to bring back what's left."

The idea of living in "two worlds" was discussed by the elders and family members too. Darren, an elder and the principal of SLSS, believed that negotiating these "two worlds is a life-long struggle involving trying to create some sense of direction in life, because for me these two worlds often come into conflict." Young people today were considered to shoulder the responsibility of healing from cultural loss through revitalising Anishinaabe culture.

Darryl, an elder, explained that "Indigenous people have always tried to exist in a changing and oppressive world." However, young Anishinaabe people today "inherited a new era where they must revitalise the culture—what was lost—alongside balancing the realities of technology and the modern world." Jade's grandma, Blossom, saw how the young people felt responsible for cultural revitalisation in the photos at the powwow photovoice exhibit. She said that "the students seemed very proud of their culture which was good to see, but this also makes me sad because strengthening our culture will be a struggle for them in this very modern world."

Conclusion

This chapter presented the data concerning *nii'kinaaganaa,* which demonstrated how the young people made sense of their world. The SGT are widely discussed within Anishinaabe legends (Bouchard & Martin, 2009; Indigenous and Northern Affairs (INAC), 2005) and academic literature (Goulet & Goulet, 2014; Regnier, 1995; S. Wilson, 2008). The SGT provided a framework to my Anishinaabe participants for living an interrelated life. This chapter detailed the young people's definitions of each teaching, reflecting their insights on human connection.

The young peoples' relationships challenge various divisions and binaries in Northern ways of knowing. For example, Sage's photo "My lake" was taken to show her connection to the land as a source of "peace" and "healing" (p. 136). Their deep relationships with land show a different understanding of the relationship between humans and land. Northern binaries of humans/animals and dead/alive was also challenged by the young people's relationships with animals (p. 137). The division from the past/present usually assumed in the North's discourse, seemed less sharply delineated by the young people. They spoke of communicating with their deceased loved ones while engaging in ceremonies, and considered to be living as spirits within the land (p.153).

While explaining who they were within the SGT, tensions underpinning settler colonialism emerged (p. 139). In vivid detail, each of the young people described trying to traverse the "two worlds" of settlers and Anishinaabe peoples. Their grandparents seemed to impress upon the young people the need to preserve what remained of Anishinaabe culture, and the young people discussed the urgent need to try and embody this teaching.

The SGT emerged as the young people responded to the first photovoice task "Who am I?" (Appendix G). The young people defined themselves as all their relations (*nii'kinaaganaa*). Their collectivist orientation seems to challenge the individualism generally part of Northern knowledge. The young people provided descriptions of their strengths,

weakness, hobbies, and aspirations (p. 102). Repeatedly these statements about themselves were framed within their relationships (p. 102).

My research seeks to explore deeply contextualised understandings and lived experiences of disability. As such, understanding how the young people viewed themselves is essential. The young people saw themselves as embedded within complex interacting relationships, which were manifested in distinct ways of living, caring for one another, and interacting that inform conceptions of disability, to which I now turn.

Chapter 5 - Conceptions of disability: Imbalances

Introduction

SLSS decolonised special education by rejecting diagnostic labels, which provides a unique setting to explore Anishinaabe conceptions of disability. SLSS's principal explained their policy as "being holistic by meeting all kinds of difficulties they [*the students*] face without assigning negative labels." Each of the young people accessed special education services in the provincial school system prior to attending SLSS, meaning they had experiences related to Northern special education programming.

The six young people participated in each stage of data collection shown in Table 3.3 (p. 79). The photovoice tasks provided valuable insight into Anishinaabe conceptions of disability. In response to the first photovoice prompt (Appendix G), young peoples' photos often depicted disabilities. The second photovoice prompt (Appendix G) provided insights into the lived experiences of disability within their reserves and school context. This chapter also refers to the interviews conducted with the elders and family members and my research journals.

The focus of this chapter is my first research question concerning Anishinaabe conceptions of disability (p. 2). I begin by explaining the linguistic challenges of talking to my research participants about disability. Next, the young people's holistic views of wellness are articulated. In describing disability, the young people and elders commonly used interactionalist language, which will be explored in detail, along with the types of imbalances discussed by the young people. Interrelated causes that the young people believed resulted in imbalances are then summarised, followed by the ways in which the young people responded to their imbalances.

Linguistic dilemmas: Disability

Early on, the difficulty of finding language to discuss disability became apparent. In the pilot, the young people thought that "disability" referred to a government tax credit. Using the term "special education needs" in my pilot and main study, resulted in the young people explaining their classroom accommodations. Diagnostic terms were rarely used by the Anishinaabe participants, which could result from Ontario's special education policies that allow students to access special education provisions while awaiting a formal diagnosis (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2017). A lack of educational psychologists and other specialists in northern Ontario means that often students in provincial schools access special

education for years without being formally diagnosed. Therefore, asking the young people about any previous diagnoses proved largely unsuccessful.

In exploring the young peoples' conceptions of disability, I asked about: their previous school experiences; the types of additional help made available; differing graduation requirements; testing accommodations; placements in special education classrooms; and exceptions from standardised testing (Appendix H). In response to these questions, Sage, said "my brain is more [*sic*] different than everyone else" adding that while in provincial school "the teachers diagnosed me with dyslexia." Jade said "I worked with an EA (educational assistant) me one-on-one every day" while attending provincial school. Although he did not recall having a particular diagnosis, he was able to explain his needs. Cedar explained that he "received a lot of extra help because I'm bad at writing."

Attempting to find the right words to discuss disability with my participants suggested the conceptions of disability amongst Anishinaabe people differed from settler conceptions. Sage's awareness of differing conceptions of disability became apparent in the preliminary interview when she said, "I have dyslexia if that helps you understand what I'm talking about." Having assessed my positionality as a settler, she used terminology she thought I would understand. The elders explained that Anishinaabe understandings of disability differed from those held by settlers. In the elder interviews, I said, "When I worked as a teacher, we had a category of students that had special educational needs. Are you familiar with that term?" (Appendix K). Each of the eleven elders said they were familiar with the term. Next, I asked, "Is that a term you would use?" Resulting in the unanimous response that "special education needs" was a term they heard before. The subsequent discussion highlighted the quandary of how to refer to a disability.

The elders agreed that the terms special education and disability did not translate into Anishinaabe. Barbra stated that, "there is no Anishinaabe word to describe something like a disability," clarifying that when Anishinaabe people use the term disability, "they don't understand the word disability in the same way as [*settler*] society." Instead, disability was framed by describing "how a person is different." Alice explained that "there is no Anishinaabe translation because the idea [*of disability*] is not the same." Darryl, an elder, said Anishinaabe is a verb-based language meaning disability was discussed by describing "the actions that made the individual different, but traditionally there are no words that referred to a particular sickness or disability." When considering the use of the word disability, he said, "I think the word you are trying to find needs to be a word that reflects the genuine concern of that person." Similarly, Rowen, an elder, said when describing a person with a disability, he talked about how the community and family could help that person.

Jane, an elder, said that when speaking in Anishinaabe one "would say that she is not able to do what she wants to do because of a bunch of reasons." Frank, also an elder, explained that "these reasons are expressed by adding verb-based descriptions" of how the individual was limited. This pattern of language is shown in Figure 5.1.

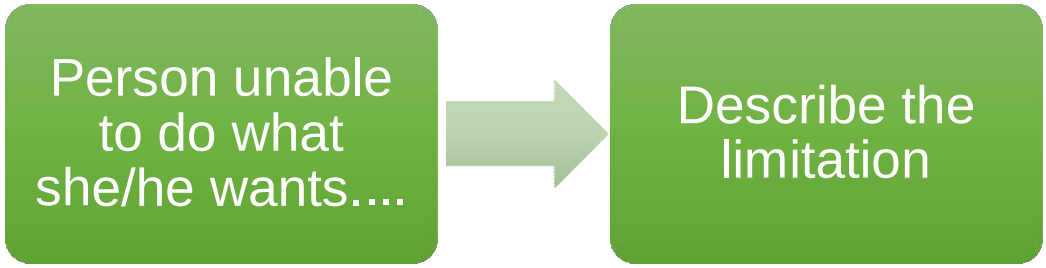


Figure 5.1: Disability interactionalist language

Since interactionalist language frames disability practically, this language use paved the way for community members to help. Darren, an elder and SLSS's principal, believed that the Anishinaabe's verb-based construction of describing a disability "aligned with Anishinaabe teaching about being part of the tribe."

The use of interactionalist language could also result from seeking a balance in all their relations. Previous provincial school teachers suspected that Jade and Cedar had ADD/ADHD, but both young people rejected this terminology, preferring to explain how they experienced the world. Sage disliked using the term dyslexia, opting instead to discuss her literacy difficulties. Phyllis, an elder and SLSS's Anishinaabe teacher, explained the belief that focussing on one aspect of a person "could make it happen," meaning that labelling a person with a disability could cause the individual to have that disability or "make that disability worse." Alice, an elder, cautioned that individuals should be "seen as whole people with weaknesses and strengths instead of using labels that focus on weaknesses." Their rejection of labels could relate to colonial and settler practices that continue to negatively label Indigenous peoples. Dean, an elder, explained that Anishinaabe people have a "history of being labelled as stupid Indians,"[110] which he believed caused suspicion of labelling by settler professionals. Conversely, when discussing mental health issues, the young people and elders, used labels like "depression" and "anxiety." It is possible that the use of clinical language was caused by each of the young people having experience accessing free counselling services.

[110] Indian in reference to Indigenous people is considered a racist term when used by non-Indigenous people. Recently, Indian has been reclaimed by Indigenous music artists as slang. However, in this quote, Dean was using the term "Indian" to emphasize settler racism.

Disability as an "imbalance in the medicine wheel"

During this research, the medicine wheel[111] teachings were frequently referenced by my Anishinaabe participants (depicted in Figure 5.2). Sage, Cedar, Amelia, and Jade wore clothing that displayed the medicine wheel. Dean, an elder, had a copy of a medicine wheel hanging in his house and explained teachings related to this symbol. Darren, SLSS's principal, often wore a jumper featuring a medicine wheel. Phyllis, an Anishinaabe teacher and elder, gave me a book about the medicine wheel because it was "at the centre of understanding the [*Anishinaabe*] world." Stewart, an elder, gave me a piece of art depicting the medicine wheel because, it explains "how Anishinaabe people see the world." Sage explained, "the medicine wheel connects to everything."

Significantly one of the interpretations of the medicine wheel was used by my participants to describe Anishinaabe understandings of disability. Darren, SLSS's principal explained that a disability resulted from an "imbalance in the categories of the medicine wheel" meaning a disability was considered an imbalance in wellness. The medicine wheel when applied to wellness, has four quadrants representing the physical/body, intellectual/mind, spiritual, and the mental/emotional parts of an individual and community.[112]

[111] There is no universal interpretation of the medicine wheel, however, it is widely used by Anishinaabe, Cree, and Dakota peoples (Hart, 2002). Historically the medicine wheel arose from sacred sites located throughout North and Central America (Linklater, 2014). It "reflects on the cosmic order and unity of all things in the universe" (Hart, 2002, p. 39).

[112] The medicine wheel has various interpretations. It was used to represent ideas that are expressed in sets of four. For example, the four cardinal directions, east, south, west, and north. In addition, this symbol is also used to depict the life cycle including birth, youth, adulthood, and elder. Another application of this symbol is the four races of people represented by the colours, red, yellow, black and white. Phyllis, the Anishinaabe teacher at SLSS taught me that the Medicine wheel showed the four sacred medicines, Sage, Tobacco, Sweetgrass, and Cedar. The four seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter can also be depicted by this symbol.

Figure 5.2: Medicine wheel (Bell, 2012)

Phyllis explained that "wellness" was an ongoing quest towards "balancing the parts of the [*medicine*] wheel." Alice, an elder, explained an Anishinaabe understanding of disability using the medicine wheel saying that "people are always considered whole even when aspects [*of the medicine wheel*] are unbalanced." Darryl, an elder, who has a physical disability, reiterated that "my soul is always seen as whole."

As previously mentioned, the participants' use of interactionalist language seemed to align with Anishinaabe beliefs in interrelatedness. Darren, an elder and SLSS's principal, explained that the medicine wheel was about "individuals trying to balance their own wellness so they can help balance the reserve." For Darryl, an elder, applying the medicine wheel to disability "means showing genuine concern for the person by focussing on how the community supports each other." Darren added that the community "considers imbalances just a part of life and we all just adapt—because we're a tribe."

Wellness: Areas of imbalance

Holistic views concerning wellness, taught by the medicine wheel, seem to result in a far-reaching understanding of what may constitute an Anishinaabe conception of disability.

During the preliminary interviews, the young people were asked how their teachers helped them (Appendix H), raising discussions about their learning needs. Data from photovoice task 1, (Appendix G) resulted in photos depicting imbalances. Photovoice task 2 led to photos that involved discussing areas of imbalances the young people felt others saw in them including learning, addiction, behavioural, physical, and mental imbalances.

Learning imbalances

At the time of this research, all the young people reported being below grade level in literacy and needing individual assistance from teachers frequently. When talking about these difficulties, the young people often described why they were unable to complete lessons. For example, Cedar took a photo titled "My Fear" (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: "My Fear" by Cedar (Photovoice task 1)

He said, "my learning problems make school hard… I'm bad at writing and understanding what I read because I just can't focus on one thing." He said that this photo showed "my fear that I'll never finish school." Jade said "I am always behind because I'm distracted in the classroom by every little thing." He was given an EA in elementary school, and thought he might need a full-time EA at SLSS. My fieldnotes recorded that Jade seemed to need one-on-one teacher assistance because he would often "daze out in the middle of writing a sentence."

Sage said "I have reading and writing issues where I can't pronounce new words and get letters and stuff mixed up." She needed help reading and completing every lesson. After tutoring Sage, my fieldnotes documented behaviours that often align with dyslexia. For instance, I recorded times that Sage mixed up letters like "b's" and "d's." Sight words[113] were also a persistent struggle for her. Reflecting on her academic needs, Sage said "everyone has a different brain but mine is just more different." Jade, Amelia, and Iris stated that they were

[113] Often referred to as high frequency words. Sight words, are commonly used words that children are encouraged to memorise, so that they can automatically recognise these words.

"kinaesthetic learners,"[114] which Jade explained meant "doing things with my hands." Iris explained that being a kinaesthetic learner at SLSS was difficult because of the independent course structure with no "hands-on learning."

The young people seemed to possess a heightened awareness of their academic needs, possibly resulting from SLSS's independent course structure where help from teachers was only available upon request. Alternatively, their experiences of failing at their previous secondary schools may have caused their heightened awareness of their academic needs.

Addiction imbalances

During my interviews and informal discussions with the young people, each confessed to being addicted to substances.[115] The teachers acknowledge that addiction is a barrier to their students. The elders interviewed believed that addiction was an imbalance in the medicine wheel. Cedar, Raven, Amelia, Sage, and Iris came to school while inebriated, an occurrence that was common at SLSS. One of my daily responsibilities at SLSS included assisting "hungover students" by making coffee and supervising them in a quiet room. In response to the first photovoice prompt, three young people took photos of addictions. However, all of the young people discussed addiction in their interviews. The causes for their addictions will be explored later in this chapter.

Figure 5.4: "Killers" by Jade (Photovoice prompt 1)

Jade's photo in Figure 5.4 reflected his fear of becoming a life-long drug addict. During data collection, he was under the legal drinking age and recreational marijuana was illegal. None of his photos showed illegal activities. As such, the photo of cigarettes represented "all" of his substance addictions. When conducting this research, he reported

[114]Ontario provincial schools require students to take regular learning style tests. It seems that these tests used terms like "kinaesthetic learner."

[115] At first, the young people reported being addicted to marijuana, tobacco, and alcohol. However, after spending more time tutoring and being in the classroom, the young people confessed to having additions to hard drugs.

being "basically clean from hard[116] drugs." Jade considered his tobacco addiction to be a positive change from other drugs, but lamented using substances at all. Amelia's photo in Figure 5.5 of cigarettes showed "that I am a recovering alcoholic and drug addict." Aligning with Jade, Amelia saw her tobacco addiction as a "positive life change" that stopped her from using more "serious drugs."[117]

Figure 5.5: "Canadian Classics" by Amelia (Photovoice prompt 1)

Amelia said her alcoholism started at 11-years-old, followed by an addiction to cocaine. At the height of her substance use, she attended school "high and drunk." During this research, she claimed to be clean from hard drugs, yet said, "I'm worried that my addictions will destroy my future." Similarly, Raven, said, "alcoholism could ruin my life and my baby's future." She tried to be tobacco-free during her pregnancy, but after a few weeks of withdrawals, she resumed smoking.

Cedar's photo, titled "Life is too short" (Figure 5.6) "is a warning to other teenagers that fighting addiction is forever." To represent "how my life is out of focus when I'm on drugs" he took this blurry photo. He said, "taking drugs when I was a kid was a mistake because now I can't stop taking them." Cedar feared he would "always be an addict." Iris and Sage also struggled with hard drugs, which in Iris' case, had led to emergency hospitalisations.

[116] Hard drugs refer to substances that have the impact of developing a physical addiction. Heroin, cocaine, and alcohol are usually referred to as hard drugs. Soft drugs are not thought to cause physical addiction. Examples of soft drugs include tobacco and marijuana.

[117] Correspondingly Jade, Amelia, Cedar, and Iris used tobacco to replace the urge to take other drugs. Thus, the young people used of tobacco as a means of dealing with their addictions to illegal drugs.

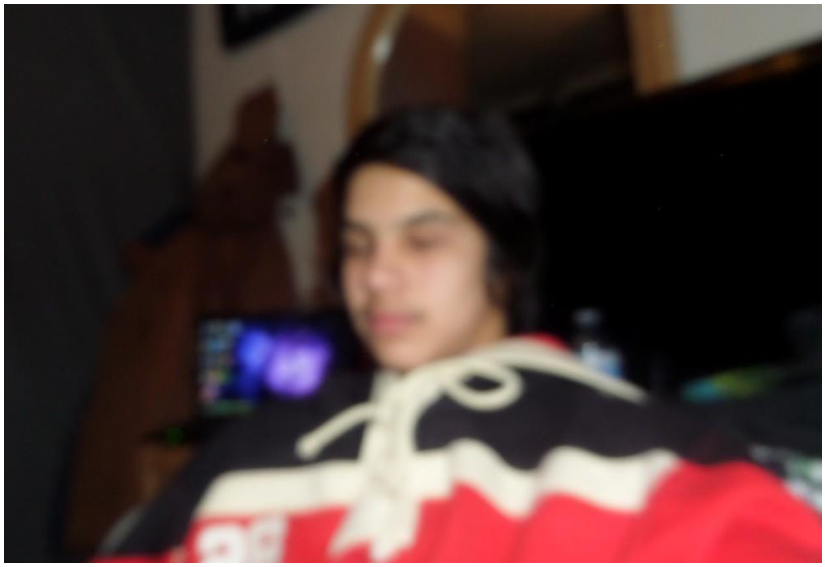


Figure 5.6: "Life is too short" by Jade (Photovoice prompt 1)

Behavioural imbalances

The young people reported that behavioural issues caused them to be unsuccessful at school. Amelia, Iris, Raven, Jade, and Sage reported frequent fights with classmates. Sage and Jade were formally expelled from provincial schools for causing bodily harm to others, and their behavioural issues led to criminal charges. The teachers at SLSS reported daily behavioural issues such as threatening violence, breaking property, and physical fights. This corresponds with entries in my fieldnote journal. Although behavioural imbalances were widespread, only Iris and Jade identified themselves as having behavioural issues. However, unlike addiction which was mentioned by all of the elders, behavioural disabilities were not discussed.

Iris said her "anger management issues" caused her to take a photo called, "My storm" (Figure 5.7). She explained, "I act like a storm because something just clicks inside my mind and it's impossible to stop" [*from escalating*]. She said, "my storms are not normal."

Figure 5.7: "My storm" by Iris (Photovoice prompt 2)

The teachers and her father, Miigwen, reported that Iris would break property and verbally threaten others. My fieldnotes confirm that Iris had an angry episode on every day she attended school.[118] These outbursts upset her classmates, many of whom were scared of Iris and avoided interacting with her. [119] While these outbursts could be classified as anger management issues, Iris is a type 1 diabetic, and these behaviours may have resulted from uncontrolled diabetes, which will be further examined later in this chapter.

In his previous school, Jade had a "problem with yelling and getting into fights." Blossom, Jade's grandma, explained that before coming to SLSS he was expelled for fighting. However, during this research, Jade only acted violently once. Elsie, his teacher, believed that Jade worked hard to "overcome his anger management issues by taking smoking breaks and not yelling."

Neither Sage or her family member, Sam, reported that Sage had behavioural imbalances. Elsie, a teacher, claimed that Sage "has a lot of angry outbursts that are verbal instead of physical." Elsie said Sage "takes a long time to calm down usually remaining angry all day and refusing to do school work." However, Sage did not report having anger issues. The lack of physicality in her outbursts may have caused a failure to recognise her behaviour as an issue.

Physical imbalances

Physical imbalances were the least spoken about which may relate to accessibility issues in reserves. Jane, an elder, explained that "people with physical imbalances like being in a wheel chair or blind are sent away to places [*settler towns with provincial schools*] where they can be better taken care of." Blossom explained that children with physical disabilities were usually placed in foster care in settler towns.

Iris discussed type 1 diabetes as a physical imbalance. At 16-years-old, Iris was diagnosed with type 1 diabetes. She avoided seeing doctors because it made her feel "weak, sick, and pathetic." Iris told her teachers at SLSS that she was "cured"[120] of type 1 diabetes and no longer needed to inject insulin.[121] It is likely that her unmanaged diabetes caused

[118] These outbursts usually included, yelling, cursing, punching the wall, throwing property, verbally threatening another student, and removing herself from the classroom.

[119] Other classmates seemed to be triggered by Iris' anger. For example, my field notes recorded her desk mate saying, "I deal with enough crazy sh** at home. I'm not doing it here—she freaks me out."

[120] Currently, there is no cure for type 1 diabetes. Iris' claim to be cured may have resulted from SLSS not allowing her to attend the school wilderness camp. Once she claimed to be cured, the school approved her attendance at the camp.

[121] Failing to inject sufficient amounts of insulin causes various unpleasant and/or fatal side effects. These side effects include, aggressive mood swings, suicidal thoughts, memory loss, and reduced capacity to understand causal relationships. Overtime, unmonitored diabetes causes hair loss, excessive weight loss, severe

behavioural imbalances, and my fieldnotes show that nearly all of Iris' violent outbursts occurred after eating. Without injected insulin, Iris was likely experiencing high glucose levels which cause, among other symptoms, irritability, thirstiness, hair loss, headaches, weight loss, moodiness, tearfulness, hunger, and anger (Diabetes UK, 2019). Iris complained about each of these symptoms.

Baby bottle tooth decay was the only other physical imbalance discussed by the young people. My fieldnotes recounted a conversation between Amelia, Sage, and Jade about having their teeth removed as children causing lisps. Sage explained, "I had most of my teeth removed[122] meaning I had a hard time doing a lot of things at school." Amelia said "having a lisp for years made it hard for me to learn how to read and spell." Barbra and Alice, both elders, considered baby bottle tooth decay to be a physical imbalance.

Mental imbalances

Each of the young people said that depression caused them to self-harm and attempt suicide.[123] Frequently, in the interviews, family members worried about their young person's mental health, and so did the teachers. It was also a matter of concern for the elders, who like the young people saw depression as an imbalance. On a daily basis, Jade said, "I fight depression from getting the best of me, but it still comes in waves." A photo taken, called "Fun Times" (Figure 5.8) depicted his struggle with depression.

hunger pains, muscle cramping, migraines, heart damage, liver failure, kidney failure, and possibly death. These symptoms would be most extreme about 20 minutes after eating as blood glucose levels increase.

[122] Dental surgery to remove abscessed baby teeth is the most common treatment for baby bottle tooth decay. Without baby teeth, adult teeth can be delayed and disorganised when they emerge. Speech delays and dental surgeries can continue into adulthood.

[123] None of the young people attempted suicide during the fieldwork.

Figure 5.8: "Fun times" by Jade (Photovoice prompt 2)

He said, "my smile hides a lot of pain." Not knowing "how to express my pain" caused Jade to self-harm. By 13-years-old, Jade, attempted to hang himself. At the time of this research, he continued to struggle with cutting but said, "I hope that one day I will find my true purpose and then the burden [*of depression*] will lift." Sage described her depression as "coming in waves." At eight-years-old, Sage began "feeling overwhelmed with sadness" causing her to attempt suicide. On the days when depression "takes over I am unable to get out of bed." Sage believed that "my depression will always be inside of me." Iris believed that depression was a "daily battle that comes in waves." She said, "sometimes I'm as happy as hell, and then all of a sudden my heart sinks and I give up on the day." Her first suicide attempt occurred when she was 12-years-old, and like Sage, Iris believed that depression would be a life-long battle. Raven described "fighting depression every day." Cedar engaged in self-harming activities and had attempted suicide multiple times.

Anxiety was discussed by all the young people except Raven. The teachers believed that each of the young people had anxiety issues. My fieldnotes documented Jade, Sage, Cedar and Amelia having anxiety attacks at school. Iris said "my anxiety makes it so I can't breathe and then I get tunnel vision and sometimes faint." Amelia reported having frequent anxiety attacks that involved "sweating, confusion, and breathing really fast." Sage, Jade, and Cedar believed they had anxiety in social settings. For example, Sage explained that during social gatherings, she usually hid "in the bathroom." Cedar, explained that in large groups "my heart races and I feel worried and hopeless."

Causes of imbalances

In understanding Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, causation could influence how imbalances are addressed. *Nii'kinaaganaa* (all my relations), discussed in chapter 4, illustrated the young people's interconnected worldviews seemed to impact disability conceptions. According to Daryl and Alice, both elders, in Anishinaabe culture, placing blame on individuals was considered inappropriate because the world is interconnected. Thus, it seemed that individual causation did not feature in the participants discussions. Imbalance causation seemed to focus on larger systemic issues such as, genocide, settler land appropriation, pollution, residential schooling, and settler racism. To illustrate, Raven explained her addiction as resulting from residential schooling abuses saying "because my grandma turns to drinking there is a cycle of alcoholism in my family."

Substance Abuse

Addiction was considered a type of imbalance. The young people also considered addiction as a cause for learning issues. Cedar said "cocaine damaged my brain so I can't remember and understand things." Amelia thought her addiction to heroin "messed up my brain, because before I used drugs I was a good student."

The family members and elders believed learning imbalances were often related to foetal exposure to substances. None of the young people discussed having foetal exposure to substances.[124] Blossom reported that Jade's mother, "took all sorts of drugs when she was pregnant which I think made it hard for him to learn how to read." However, Blossom then contextualised Jade's mother as a "teenager with no support." Miigwen said Iris' mother consumed "hard drugs during her pregnancy."[125] Miigwen thought Iris' learning imbalances were caused by foetal exposure to drugs. Each of the elders considered FAS/D an imbalance impacting reserves, but never blamed the mothers. For example, Dean, an elder, explained that "living in reserves is hard because losses are everywhere and that causes people to use substances to numb the pain."

Bereavement

Mourning the untimely and tragic deaths of loved ones was frequently cited as causing imbalances. The frequency of deaths left little time to mourn. The unexpected death of Amelia's Grandma, who was her legal guardian, marked the beginning of Amelia's

[124] This could relate to the Anishinaabe beliefs concerning balance within the community and not attributing blame to individual people like mothers.

[125] Miigwan never told Iris about her mother's drug consumption during pregnancy because he "tried to talk about only the good things since Iris has a hard life already."

depression. Miigwen, Iris' father, believed her depression started "when her mom died." The death of Sage's aunt due alcoholism caused Sage "to feel depressed and alone." The photo called, "My role model" (Figure 5.9) featuring Sage's aunt "reminds me that my aunt struggled everyday with depression too."

Figure 5.9: "Role Model" by Sage (Photovoice prompt 1)

Each of the young people reported feeling depressed after a loved one's suicide. For Iris, the suicide of her older sister and uncle caused her to "feel alone and depressed." Her father, Miigwen, believed these suicides made Iris depressed. Alice, an elder, said, "a lot of Anishinaabe people fall [*commit suicide*] because we live in communities of despair."

Abuse

Physical and sexual abuse seemed to cause imbalances within the medicine wheel. Depression was believed to result from being a victim or witnessing physical abuse. As outlined in chapter 1 (p.17) and chapter 4 (p.129) the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women shows a perpetual cycle of violence. Each young person had a female loved one that was missing or murdered. Sage, Amelia, Raven, and Iris expressed the fear of going missing or being murdered. Sage said, "my depression got worse after I saw my cousin's murder."[126] Jade recounted witnessing his "best friend being stabbed and then my sister being gang raped." These events caused Jade to feel "hopeless, depressed, and very angry." Raven said that "sometimes after seeing my mom being physically abused by her boyfriend, I feel no hope." When her mom's boyfriend started abusing Raven, she said "my depression deepened because it seemed like no one cared about me."

Every single female young person suffered from sexual abuse[127] that they considered an antecedent to mental imbalances. The female young people told shockingly similar stories

[126] This murder involved Sage's cousin being tied to a vehicle that drove throughout the reserve until the police forcibly stopped the vehicle.

[127] When these crimes were discussed during the interviews, I followed SLSS's safeguarding protocol. The principal of the school followed up with the local police to ensure that each of the crimes was reported. The

of being sexually assaulted by male relatives. During her second interview, Iris, talked about sexual abuse she suffered at six-years-old when her biological father molested her.[128] At the age of eight, she was raped, repeatedly, by a teenage male cousin. This was followed by incidents of rape perpetrated by her uncle. The sexual abuse continued into her teenage years at the hand of her friend's father. All of these crimes were reported and some arrests were made. However, the perpetrators received not guilty verdicts. This left Iris feeling embarrassed and depressed which escalating her self-harm and led to four suicide attempts. She added that "being sexual abused makes me have anger imbalances."

Amelia suffered similar experiences of sexual abuse as a child. At eight-years-old, she was raped by a male cousin. Of this experience, she recalls "scrubbing and scrubbing in the bath but I never felt whole or clean again." Amelia believed sexual abuse caused her "depression and self-harming issues." At eleven-years-old, she was raped by her uncle. When her step-father moved into the same house, he sexually abused her almost daily for five years. Amelia decided to seek criminal justice and he was convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison. [129]

Raven was sexually abused by four of her mother's partners. At ten-years-old, she was molested for the first time. This sexual abuse "causes me to feel depressed, used, and dirty." She reported these crimes. However, all of the men were acquitted because of a lack of evidence. Tragically, she explained that the memories of being raped were the impetus behind her suicide attempts. Similarly, during a walking interview, Sage explained that at ten-years-old, she was molested by her mom's partner which caused her "to be confused, worried, and depressed." Her depression increased when this man died in a fishing accident because "he'll never face justice for all the pain he caused me."

Discussions concerning sexual abuse with the elders centred on sexual abuse suffered during residential schooling. However, Alice briefly mentioned that previous victims of sexual abuse in residential schools often become perpetrators. The lack of acknowledgment for current sexual abuse may result from not wanting to turn residential school survivors into sexual predators.

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students were encouraged to reach out to the local women's shelter and the sexual health counselling services. In addition, after these interviews, I spent extended time one-on-one with the students. Often, we would make food, go for walks, or do makeup together. They did not re-enter the classroom until they felt ready to work.

[128] Iris considered her biological father to be "non-existent" after this sexual abuse. As such, in this report, Iris asked for Miigwen who was her step-father, to be referred to as her father.

[129] Although her step-father was found guilty, this conviction caused Amelia's mother to kick her out the house. Amelia was homeless for a few weeks until she moved in with her boyfriend.

Parental Neglect

Being neglected by parents was another cause the young people cited for imbalances. Amelia believed her anxiety was caused by being "left and uncared for" by her mother. Raven believed, "my feelings of constant worry come from my mom not taking care of me as a kid." For Jade, being rejected by his parents caused feelings of "deep depression." He "tried to hang himself" at 10-years-old, because his parents left him alone for a month in the winter. Blossom, Jade's grandma, spoke of finding Jade "scrounging around in the garbage bins for food."

Parental neglect was also considered a cause for their behavioural imbalances. Jade believed his tendency to fight people happened because his parent's neglect "makes me angry at the world." My fieldnote journal outlined an angry outburst prompted by a creative writing assignment asking Jade to write about his "earliest childhood memories." Jade explained that his outburst, was because the assignment made "me remember how worthless my parents make me feel."

Chronic absenteeism from school, caused by parental neglect, has in turn led to learning imbalances. Jade spent extended months out-of-school because his parents "didn't pay attention," and once under his grandma's care "I needed tutors to try and fill in all the stuff I missed." Amelia attended six elementary schools and two secondary schools because her mom moved to evade the law, and after each move, Amelia took "breaks from school." She said "I missed a lot of important stuff and I'm always trying to catch up at school." Cedar spent a lot of time out of school because, "no one cared if I went to school because my parents were always drunk." Upon entering middle school, he was assessed as "three years behind." Cedar believed he struggled to "understand new ideas because I missed many basic things." SLSS's teachers considered chronic absenteeism during the formative years of schooling to be a major barrier facing all of their students.

Pollution

Both the young people and elders briefly mentioned environmental pollution, in the form of water contamination, as a cause for imbalances. Jade and Cedar believed that mercury contaminated water found in local Anishinaabe communities caused imbalances. Iris' photo in Figure 5.10, depicts how her father's community has been without clean water for nearly 40 years. She explained that using the contaminated water "caused a bunch of imbalances."

Figure 5.10 "Sweetgrass" by Iris (photovoice project 1)

None of my participants resided in the reserves with known pollution. Yet, it was frequently mentioned as a cause of imbalances for many Indigenous peoples.

Addressing imbalances

Since causation was not individualistically-understood or even linked to singular antecedents, the young people responded to their imbalances by seeking balance. Dean, an elder, clarified that the medicine wheel "operates on the individual and community levels….meaning individuals are responsible for seeking balance in their own wheel so that the whole community can be more balanced." Several photos generated depicted actions the young people took to seek balance, which include spiritual ceremonies, hobbies, immediate coping strategies, and therapy.

Spiritual ceremonies

The young people and elders believed ceremonies were essential in seeking balance in the medicine wheel. As explained in chapter 4 within the SGT of "respect" (p.132), the young people participated in spiritual ceremonies, which helped in their quest for balance. These ceremonies seemed to connect the young people with their ancestors. Stewart, an elder, said he used ceremonies to get "strength from my ancestors." These ceremonies helped the young people with focus at school, addictions, bereavement, and depression.

Smudging was used by both young people and elders to feel calm and regain focus. Cedar said, "smudging at school helps me to succeed and do better because after smudging I am able to concentrate more." It also helped Sage leave "my problems at home and focus at school." Jade's photo, titled, "Views" (Figure 5.11) was about "walking when I have anxiety at school." On these walks, Jade smudged, and this photo was taken when he felt "good again and ready to work in class."

Figure 5.11: "Views" by Jade (Photovoice prompt 1)

In response to addiction, the young people believed smudging could provide strength to withstand cravings. Smudging is usually accompanied with a silent prayer, and Cedar believed the smudging "helps me overcome my urges to take drugs." Raven used smudging to "recommit myself to staying clean" [*from taking drugs*]. Alice, an elder, believed that Anishinaabe ceremonies helped those "suffering from addictions."

Connecting with deceased loved ones through ceremonies was also a way to address bereavement. Iris went to sweats to "release a lot of my intense sadness and anger" after her mother's death. During sweats, Iris said, " I feel my mother there… it's amazing, light, and airy." Offerings assisted Sage with her depression. She said, "offerings make my heart happy because I feel my aunt loving me." Participating in offerings to ancestors seemed to function as an act of service that helped to shift focus away from their own struggles.

Participating in Anishinaabe ceremonies was used to restore balance within the mental quadrant of the medicine wheel. For example, Amelia found that sweats allow "me to sweat out my depression" from being sexually abused. Sweats were a place where Jade said "my negativity leaves and I escape my depression." Sweats helped Sage deal with depression because it "cleansed all my bad thoughts, leaving me more hopeful."

Alice, an elder, said that Anishinaabe people feel "grounded by what's around…the trees, the air we breathe, the water we drink…We all need it to survive and feel connected." Corresponding with this idea, Jade took daily walks into the forest to relieve "my depression because in the forest a person is never alone." His walks involved tobacco offerings. Sage said, " I belong in the forest…it's the only place that feels like home and it helps with my depression." In the Figure 5.12, Sage's photo expressed her connection to the land. She said

"this photo is about being one with the forest…sometimes I lay on the ground, feel the breeze, touch the trees, and smell the air." She said, "watching sunsets shows me that there is always a new day to come—another chance."

Figure 5.12: "My Sunset" by Sage (Photovoice task 1)

Hobbies

Each young person had hobbies that helped them seek greater balance. Their awareness of employing hobbies as coping mechanism may stem from attending addiction or mental health treatment facilities. Amelia photographed her Sudoku puzzles, naming this photo "The calmer" (Figure 5.13) because this activity helped her deal with anxiety.[130]

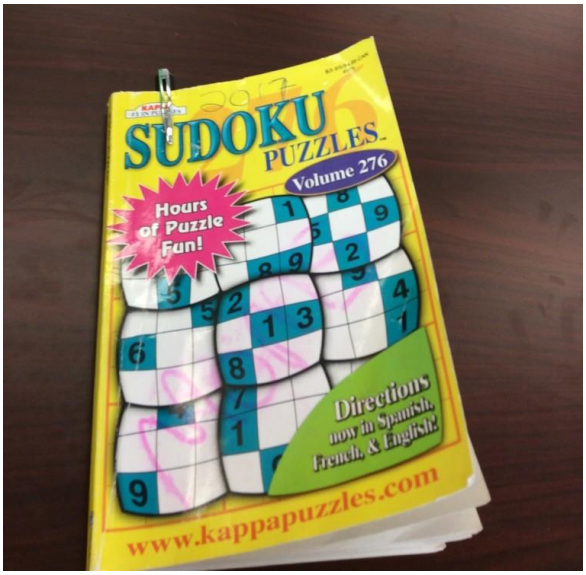

Figure 5.13: "The calmer" by Amelia (Photovoice prompt 1)

[130] My field notes recorded that Amelia always carried a book of Sudoku puzzles. This act of self-help appeared to be part of Amelia's daily life. During the interviews, she explained that her grandma taught Amelia how to do the puzzles. Therefore, this activity also helped to calm her because she remembered her Grandma.

Raven took two photos showing how she coped with her depression. Figure 5.14, titled, "How I get my peace of mind"[131] shows her love for painting, which she said "makes me feel relaxed and happy."

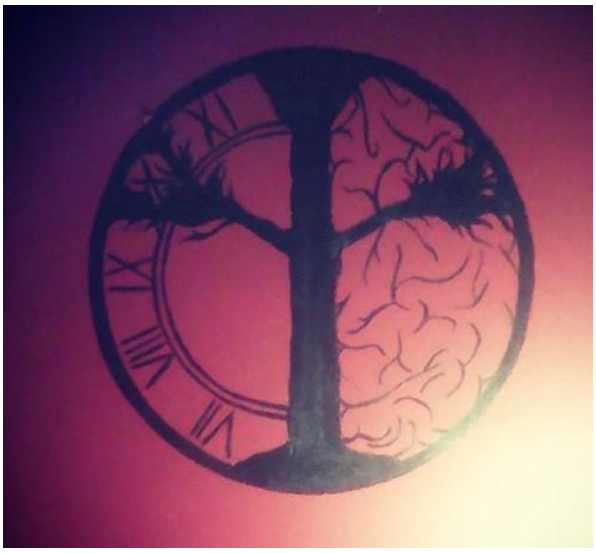

Figure 5.14: "How I get my peace of mind" by Raven (Photovoice prompt 1)

Raven's second photo, named, "Bookworm" (Figure 5.15), shows that reading "is my escape." This photo features a book about depression, which helped Raven realise, "I can still suffer [*from depression*] but can be successful too." This photo was significant to Raven who said, "I find answers to my questions in books."

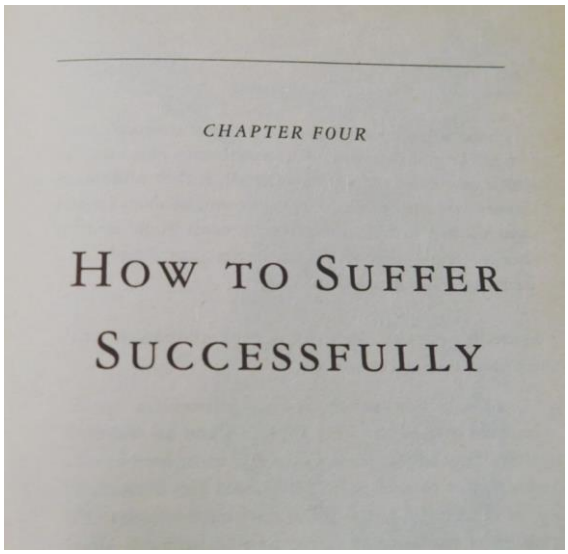

Figure 5.15: "Bookworm" by Raven (Photovoice prompt 2)

Writing poetry helped Iris to deal with mental imbalances. She considered herself a writer, as depicted in Figure 5.16. This book contained poems about death, self-harm, rape,

[131] This particular photo shows an image she painted on her wall. This painting of a peace sign made of trees "showed that nature is calming." The clock in the background reminds her that "life is short." The brain was a reminder that she needed to "stop and think before acting."

and trying to "find happiness." Iris said "when I'm really upset I write down my feelings." Poetry became the "only way I get out my anger safely." She often shared her poems with people facing similar hardships, which she believed "turns my pain into something good."

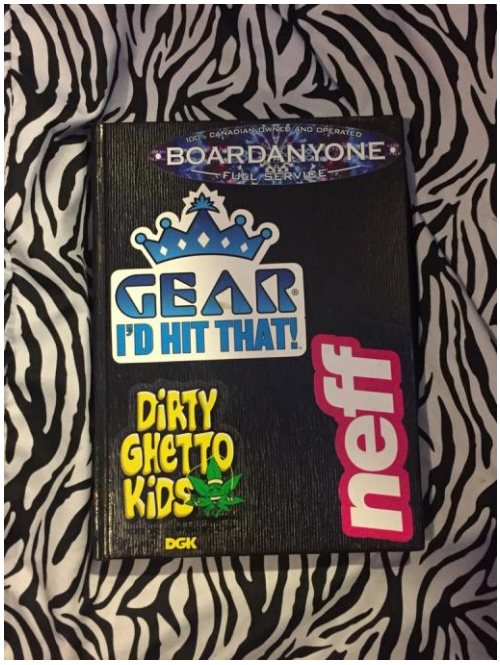

Figure 5.16: "My book of life" by Iris (Photovoice prompt 2)

Iris said wearing makeup was a method of self-help, which she expressed in her photo called, "Glamouflage" (Figure 5.17). This photo showed that makeup was a "form of physical expression that makes me feel good." Similarly, Amelia said putting on makeup "makes me focus on my beauty instead of negative things."

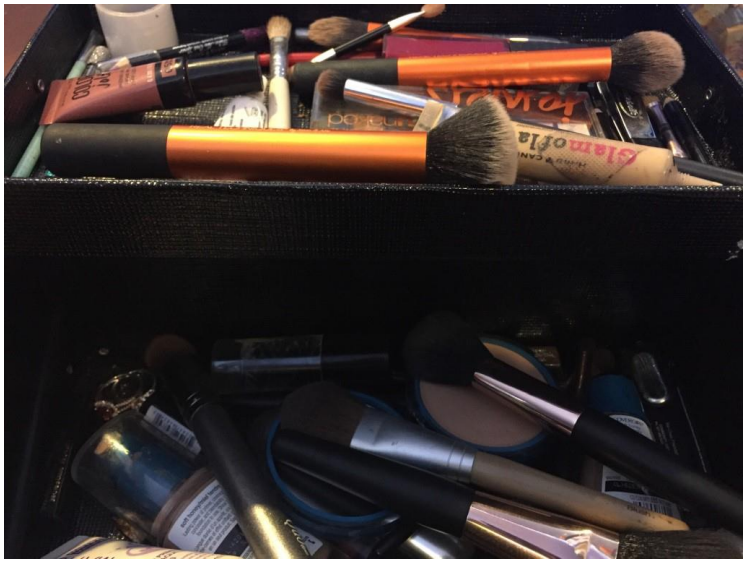

Figure 5.17: "Glamouflage" by Iris (Photovoice prompt 1)

Other hobbies used as self-help strategies were discussed during the interviews. For example, when Sage felt depressed, she baked a cake and gave it away. This caused her to leave her

house and interact with other people. Iris and Cedar also talked about exercise as a hobby that helped them to deal with addiction.

Immediate coping strategies

During moments of stress, anxiety attacks, and angry outbursts, the young people employed various tactics. Smoking cigarettes was the most widely discussed way of alleviating immediate stress. Amelia and Jade reported that smoking caused them to feel relaxed and awake. Smoking cigarettes was often used to replace harder drugs, which could result from being in drug treatment facilities, where cigarettes are normally encouraged as a replacement for illegal drugs.

As a coping mechanism, Raven used mantras to "make it through bad days." Her photo shown in Figure 5.18 is of a key chain with the phrases "UR strong, UR Bold, UR True" printed on it. She said "when I feel weak…like giving up, they [*these mantras*] pick me up."

Figure 5.18: "UR" by Sage (Photovoice prompt 1)

Both Amelia and Jade reported having warm baths or showers to calm down after anxiety attacks. Amelia took a photo of a bath right after a panic attack, which she titled "Stress Reliever" (Figure 5.19). This photo showed that "I try to help myself."

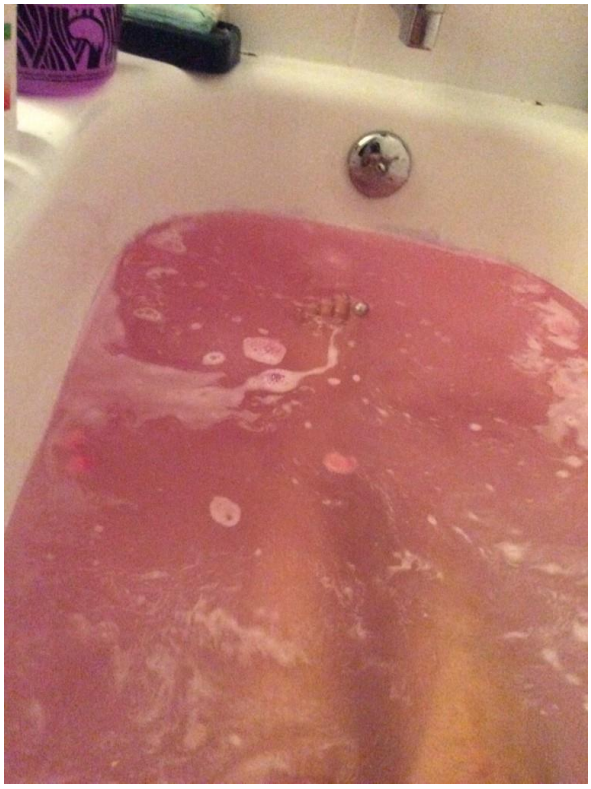

Figure 5.19: "Stress Reliever" by Amelia (Photovoice prompt 1)

Therapy

The young people said they sought help through counselling and treatment facilities. At the time of this research, Amelia, Raven, and Cedar were accessing weekly counselling. Amelia said "going to counselling makes me feel relieved." Raven's counsellor, "helps me think I can change my life." Weekly addiction counselling helped Cedar "stay more on track."

However, Jade, Iris, and Sage had negative experiences with settler counsellors, and since refused to attend counselling. After attempting suicide, Jade requested counselling, but quit because he found the sessions repetitive and unhelpful.[132] Sage quit counselling because the counsellor was "some white person—no offense, asking lots of questions that made me feel more alone." Sage added that "white counsellors don't understand life on a reserve." The idea that a settler counsellor was unable to provide counselling was shared by Cedar and Amelia who attributed their recent counselling success to having Anishinaabe counsellors. Cedar found it difficult to explain the realities of his life to a former settler counsellor "who had never stepped foot in reserve." Dean, SLSS's Anishinaabe counsellor and elder, believed that culture was central to counselling. [133] The elders interviewed each mentioned that youth

[132] The counsellor's motto was "just keep breathing" but for Jade, this advice failed to engage with the "hard stuff I deal with every day."

[133] Interestingly, none of the students accessed Dean's services. The interviews with the teachers seem to reveal a lack of awareness about the young people's hesitations concerning Dean's counselling. Sage and Amelia reasoned that they preferred to have a female counsellor. Jade and Iris felt that counselling with an elder

should talk to their elders about issues. Darryl explained that elders were supposed to "counsel, mentor, and support all tribal members."

Conclusion

In seeking to understand Anishinaabe views concerning disability, my Anishinaabe participants shared the teachings of the medicine wheel. This was considered the most analogous Anishinaabe conception to the North's notion of a disability (p. 147). The medicine wheel is a sophisticated model for understanding *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations) previously outlined (p. 99). When applied to wellness, the medicine wheel was used to explain Anishinaabe understandings of disability which were called "imbalances."

Framing disability as an imbalance in the medicine wheel leads to the belief of universality, since all people are seeking greater balance in the medicine wheel. Within the medicine wheel, human functioning is not deemed to be static, but instead, constantly interacting with all one's relations. This seemed to be reflected in the use of interactionalist language when talking about imbalances (p. 144) which provides community members with information concerning how to assist each other. This language use could be deemed a manifestation of a more collectivist orientation like *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations).

Considering disability as an imbalance in the medicine wheel means that Anishinaabe conceptions extend to realms often excluded within Northern disability discourses. For example, the young people, elders, and family members considered mental health and addiction to be types of imbalances.

The young people seemed to possess a heightened awareness of their imbalances as related to their needs within a classroom, which could stem from seeing the world through the lens of interrelatedness. Seeking balance in the medicine wheel involves awareness of one's challenges. Corresponding, the SGT of honesty involves accounting for one's strengthens and weaknesses (see p. 102).

Causation for imbalances seems to divert from the North's discourse of disability causation. Imbalances were not caused by individuals, but rather by the interplay of relationships. For instance, the complexity of causation can also be demonstrated by the various imbalances stemming from sexual abuse. Iris believed her "anger management issues" often happened because she remembered being sexually abused. For Amelia, Raven and Iris, childhood sexual abuse was considered an antecedent to mental imbalances that climaxed in suicide attempts.

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should involve an elder from their specific reserve. Raven felt uncomfortable seeing Dean because he was her cousin.

This chapter demonstrated that young people were actively engaged in seeking greater balance in the medicine wheel through spiritual ceremonies. As previously shown in chapter 4, spirituality was central to how the young people made sense of their lives. This challenges the common binary in Northern discourses of the secular/spiritual. For example, smudging helped Cedar with his learning imbalance by increasing his concentration at school (p. 160). Many of these ceremonies were part of SLSS's programming. In seeking a deeply contextualised understanding of disability, the school context is significant for the young people, and this is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6 - The purposes of schooling

Introduction

The grand council's reclaiming of self-governance over secondary schooling was widely discussed by the research participants. SLSS was created to address the unmet needs of Anishinaabe students attending provincial schools. Chapter 4 discussed *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations), but excluded relationships with the school and teachers, which will be considered in this chapter. In responding to the photovoice tasks (Appendix G), the young peoples' photos described the purposes of schooling which were categorised mainly within the teaching of bravery (p. 139). This involved "walking in two worlds" which involved dealing with cultural loss while also navigating cultural revitalisation. These ideas were central to the formation of SLSS.

During the interviews, the young people tried to explain how SLSS differed from their previous provincial schools. The young people, elders, and family members made comparisons between SLSS and past residential schooling suggesting that the legacies of residential schooling remain. This chapter begins by exploring how residential schooling influenced the creation of SLSS.

SLSS seeks to address employability of Anishinaabe people in settler communities, cultural revitalisation, encouraging healthy lifestyles, decolonisation, providing a safe place, and enhancing students' self-esteem. Each of these purposes is explained along with SLSS's corresponding programming. The decolonising purposes of SLSS have been implemented in programming by creating a space in which teachers attempt to respond to their students' learning, addiction, behavioural, physical, and mental imbalances. Included within this discussion are the limitations and contradictions of SLSS's response to student imbalances.

Residential schooling legacies

Each of the participants spoke extensively about residential schooling, the legacies of which seemed to inform the participants' beliefs about school. Barbra, an elder, said, "residential schools were about assimilation, but schools today need to be about fixing assimilation." Cedar believed that, "schooling has a lot of power that can be used to do good or bad." Alice, an elder, believed that "Indigenous-controlled schooling is the greatest tool for making the world better." Darren, an elder and the principal, thought that "schooling should change the world for the better."

It is significant to note that each of the young people have family members who attended residential schools, including Cedar's parents, Jade's parents and grandma, Amelia's

grandma, Iris' dad, and Raven's grandma. Cedar found the stories of his father attending residential schooling "scary, terrifying, and frightening." Jade's grandma, Blossom, avoided sharing memories because "it's not the type of thing children should know about." Each of the young people knew the history of residential schooling in this region, and out of the 11 elders interviewed, Barbra, Dean, Darren, Alice and Craig had escaped residential schooling.

The survivors recounted being taken from home. Alice said that Indian Affairs officers,[134] "searched for every Indigenous child and took them away from home." Blossom, Jade's grandma, explained that at eight-years-old, her grandparents left her in their vehicle while shopping in a nearby settler town. An Indian Affairs officer took her from the car and she did not see her family until the summer. She said, "my time in residential school was horrible…I don't know how I survived." Likewise, Jane, an elder, was sent to residential school at five-years-old, and recalls "just missing my parents all the time and crying." She remembers this time as "hard because I did not know any English, and the teachers got frustrated because I couldn't understand so they [*the teachers*] couldn't really teach."

Blossom, Jade's grandma, was "caught speaking Anishinaabe" which resulting in being "strapped." As punishment for speaking Anishinaabe, Darryl sat in the corner wearing a dunce hat during meal times for a year. Older students were often given authority to supervise the younger students during farm labour[135] and evenings. Alice, an elder, said, "the teachers abused the students and the students abused the younger students." She called the older male students "the abusers that sexually hurt me… threw me in rivers, tied me up, and threw me in front of trains."

Hiding from Indian Affairs officers was also discussed, but this in turn meant having no access to formalised schooling and lacking government identification. Miigwen, Iris' father, managed to escape residential schooling because his grandparents "hid me in the forest every year when the kids were herded up for school." Alice was "hidden in the forest" with her grandparents until she was sixteen-years-old. After being sexually abused at seven-years-old in residential school, Blossom's grandparents took her "deep into the forest" and she never attended school again.

These experiences of residential schooling influenced how the participants conceptualise schooling. Barbra, an elder, thought that residential school survivors were "unable to relate to current school systems because in residential schooling parents had no

[134] Indian affairs officers were the law enforcement personnel employed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). This organisation has been renamed Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC).

[135] Farm labour was a major part of residential schools in this region. Often the students only attended a few hours of formal schooling a week spending the majority of their time farming.

say." She believed that survivors were unaware "that their involvement [*in their child's schooling*] has a big impact." Darren, the principal of SLSS, explained that his job included listening to "parents and grandparents sharing their experiences of residential schooling." They often told Darren that "schooling was better today but schools still hurt Indigenous kids" which caused him to think that SLSS "needs to address the past wrongs done by residential schooling so the community trusts that this school is safe."

The creation of SLSS

During the interviews, each of the young people were asked about their schooling history and their decision to enrol at SLSS (Appendix H). All of the young people attended provincial secondary schools within the past two years. Jade said, that "provincial schools are really a challenge for Anishinaabe kids—like we [*Anishinaabe students*] almost never graduate." To finish secondary school within four years, students must complete thirty courses. Amelia and Raven who attended a provincial school for four years had each completed two courses. After attending a provincial school for three years, Iris completed one course. Cedar attended the provincial school for one year and completed no courses. Sage and Jade attended provincial school for two years and completed three courses each.

After noting the poor success rates of Anishinaabe students in provincial schools, Nick, the head teacher, explained that SLSS tries "to meet the needs of Anishinaabe students who have fallen through the cracks of the provincial system." Elsie, a teacher, explained that SLSS "focuses on the Anishinaabe students who fell behind in provincial schools." Darren, the principal of SLSS said, the community members asked for an "Anishinaabe school since many Anishinaabe students were unsuccessful in provincial schools."

The young people also seemed aware that SLSS was designed to help Anishinaabe students. Iris described SLSS as "not a regular school because it values Anishinaabe culture." For Jade, SLSS was a place for "troubled Anishinaabe youth to actually succeed in school." Raven thought that SLSS was "a school for dropout Natives."[136] Amelia took a photo titled, "Second chance" (Figure 6.1) showing the entryway of SLSS because "this school gave me a real chance to finish school."

[136] Natives is a slang term used to refer to North American Indigenous people. In Canada, the term "Native" is often considered a derogatory word when used by settlers. It seems that Raven was using this term because of the negative connotations.

Figure 6.1: "Second Chance" by Amelia (Photovoice task 1)

As the participants talked about their personal schooling history, they discussed their reasons for schooling. Based primarily on the elder and teacher interviews, the following sections clarify the community needs SLSS tried to meet, which are displayed in Table 6.1. The implementation of each of these purposes for schooling are explained primarily from the teacher and young people data.

Table 6.1: Schooling purposes, community needs, and SLSS programming

Purposes of schooling	Community needs	SLSS programming
Increasing employability	Community members qualified to enter the settler workforce.	Independent-study courses and job placement courses offered to all students.
Cultural revitalisation	Community members that are Fluent Anishinaabe speakers who participate in Anishinaabe ceremonies.	Exclusively Anishinaabe students, Anishinaabe language courses, and Anishinaabe ceremonies offered at school.
Promoting healthy lifestyles	Community members with knowledge and tools for coping with addictions, abuse, sexual health, and mental health issues.	Elders available at the school to counsel with students.
Decolonisation	Community members that are proud to be Anishinaabe.	Anishinaabe-based classroom procedures, employing Anishinaabe staff, and rejecting provincial special education programming.
Safe place	Community members that feel safe at school with basic needs being met.	Providing basic needs like food, warmth, and sanitary products for the students.

Enhance self-esteem	Community members that feel good about themselves.	Building trusting relationships with staff members that are able to adapt to each students' needs.

Increased employability

The school was mentioned by the young people as a site that prepared them to enter the settler workforce. The Anishinaabe communities in this research rely on settler businesses for formalised employment (see p. 7). The young people saw secondary school completion as necessary to their future employability. Cedar thought that schooling prepared "people to get a job and have money," while Jade "stays in school so I can become a welder." Amelia explained that in order "to get a full-time job in any white person's business you need a high school diploma."

The elders and family members mentioned how residential schooling destroyed traditional trapping, fishing, and hunting since this knowledge was rarely able to be practiced by children and youth. Without these industries, Anishinaabe community members needed employment in Riverside. Dean, an elder said, "we want the students [*from SLSS*] to be qualified to get jobs [*in Riverside*]." Rowen, an elder, added that SLSS "was formed to get more Anishinaabe students graduated from high school so they can get jobs." Alice, an elder, mentioned that "today Indigenous people have to be educated in order to survive financially since Anishinaabe ways of life were ruined by residential schooling." Blossom, Jade's grandma, stated that "getting a grade 12 diploma is the only way to survive since traditional Native jobs are gone." Miigwen, Iris' father, agreed that if Anishinaabe "kids don't finish high school they can't get a real job in a white town."

Employability programming at SLSS

Table 6.1 shows SLSS's programming that addressed increasing the future employability of students. Seeking entry to the settler workforce seemed to inform SLSS's pedagogy and curriculum. Nick, the head teacher, explained that SLSS's "focus was not like regular [*provincial*] schools where enrichment was a goal. Instead we [*SLSS*] focuses on graduating students quickly so they can start working."

Independent courses were also deemed necessary because the students at SLSS had irregular school attendance. These independent courses allowed students to complete them flexibly, without due dates. Elsie, a teacher at SLSS, said "accumulating credits quickly so our students graduate and enter the workforce means that we have to use independent courses." Phyllis, the Anishinaabe teacher at SLSS, concurred that independent courses align with "the purpose of the entire programme—to finish school and get a job."

Jade "liked working without due dates." Iris also liked that "working at my own pace means that my life doesn't stop my school progress." Independent courses were also mentioned by Miigwen, Iris' dad, as "a way that school was possible for her because of her addictions and type 1 diabetes—so she misses a lot of school."

SLSS sought to have students enter the settler workforce by implementing a job placement programme, which provided the young people with employment experience and course credits. Iris, who participated in the work placement programme, said it "got me a permanent part-time job in a coffee shop." It also provided "me some work experience to put on a CV." Jade and Sage planned to take the work placement course next year.

Cultural revitalisation

Darryl, an elder and residential school survivor, said, "Anishinaabe dress, languages, and ceremonies were banned in residential schools so schools today should rediscover and redevelop the cultural teachings we lost." Barbra, an elder, felt that "after generations of residential schooling, knowledge was lost so the school [*SLSS*] should re-educate students about being Anishinaabe." Sam, Sage's cousin, saw SLSS as a place to "stop the trauma [*of residential schooling*] by teaching about Anishinaabe ways." Alice, an elder, believed that schooling should "help Anishinaabe students feel proud of their heritage." Frank, an elder, believed "the big difference between provincial schools and Indigenous schools has to do with [*Indigenous schools focusing on*] educating the soul of a student by instilling cultural pride."

Cultural programming at SLSS

By implemented cultural revitalisation through language courses, Rowen an elder, explained that SLSS hoped "to graduate fluent Anishinaabe students because being taught our language represents everything—all of our teachings." Darren, the principal, said, "in time we hope to have all academic subjects taught in Anishinaabe." All of the young people expressed a desire to speak Anishinaabe fluently.

SLSS's inclusion of Anishinaabe ceremonies such as smudging demonstrated the implementation of cultural revitalisation (summarised in Table 6.1). Amelia said, "I rush to get to school in time for the smudge because it [*the smudge*] makes me feel good." Cedar liked the idea that "every day starts with a smudge because it makes me feel proud." The young people wanted SLSS to extend their cultural programming, and thus materials needed to make regalia were available during their lunch break. Phyllis, the Anishinaabe teacher, said that SLSS's focus was on "getting courses done quickly so there isn't time for enrichment like an art class about making regalia." Nick, the head teacher, said "course completion is the

point of the programme and not arts like Anishinaabe beading." In contrast, Rowen, an elder, hoped that SLSS would expand their cultural programming to include fish drying, and survival skills. Stewart, an elder, thought that "the outdoor skills should be a bigger part" of SLSS's programming.

It could be argued that SLSS fulfilled the purpose of cultural revitalisation by its very existence. For Barbra, SLSS led to "reviving dwindling reserves because children are the future, and controlling our own school [*SLSS*] brings pride across my reserve." Miigwen, Iris' father, also thought "schooling would make the whole reserve better since we are proud."

Promoting healthy lifestyles

The elders adamantly believed that SLSS should provide the tools for a healthy life. The elders widely discussed the mental health crisis facing Indigenous youth. They believed that schools were central in suicide prevention, and adamantly believed that SLSS should provide the tools for a healthy life. Alice thought "schools should be teaching the warning signs of suicide." Darren, the principal, believed in promoting the young peoples' self-esteem so that "they have a strong base that will help in balancing mental issues." He also thought SLLS should "help those overcoming addictions by teaching the students about heathy tools for coping…like anger management and talking to the elders." Blossom, Jade's grandma, agreed that SLSS "needs to talk about mental imbalances and teach the students about not using substances to cope."

Sage was the only young person who discussed SLSS's sexual health curriculum saying they needed "to support 2SLGBTQQIA+ students by talking about non-heterosexual issues too." Sexual health was briefly mentioned by two of the elders as an essential component of schooling. Dean, an elder, explained that "many Anishinaabe teenagers become young parents, meaning schools should teach about sexual health." Alice believed that sexual health curriculum needed to "teach about recognising abusive relationships."

Healthy lifestyles at SLSS

SLSS employs a free movement policy to teaching coping mechanisms that relied on teachers trusting the students to regulate their own movements within the school grounds (see Table 6.1). Elsie, a teacher, talked about "knowing each student to make sure they were using the free movement policy appropriately." Phyllis, an Anishinaabe teacher, hoped that this policy "will teach the students responsibility." As noted earlier, walks outside seemed to have a calming influence on the young people (pp. 160-162) and provided a exercise.

With regards to promoting sexual health, SLSS had limited programming. My research journals recorded that while posters and pamphlets were placed in the classrooms,

the teachers themselves had varying opinions about schooling being used for this purpose. Elsie thought SLSS needed to "tackle sexual health as part of the physical education courses since sexual health is a huge issue." She felt that SLSS "needs to reach have a nurse come to the school regularly." However, Nick believed that "sexual health was covered within a biology course."

Decolonisation

All of the participants considered decolonisation to be a purpose for SLSS. Cedar said, "In the past, my people's [*Anishinaabe*] teachings were banned so today we should bring these teachings into schools." Darryl said that "Anishinaabe ownership over education is important to residential school survivors and Native people in general because it is a chance to make our own system of education that will impact generations of how our people think." He added, "being able to control the education of our children means bringing back Anishinaabe ways." Barbra, an elder explained that colonial practices "were designed to assimilate Indigenous people by using school…meaning today we need to decolonise schools."

Decolonising schooling seemed to include teaching about Indigenous racism. Sam, Sage's cousin, felt that the "most important thing this school [*SLSS*] can do is promote decolonisation by making Anishinaabe students aware of their oppression because we've been living this way for so long. We don't realise all the racism facing Anishinaabe people." Darryl, an elder, thought "Indigenous-controlled schools should combat all the types of racism."

The decolonisation of classroom discipline techniques was widely discussed. Within provincial schooling, classroom discipline was considered as a barrier. Amelia recounted being "singled out in front of the class" as a teacher corrected her behaviour. This caused her to feel "uncomfortable because why didn't my teacher talk to me privately?" Sage struggled with being "called out in front of everyone for doing things like talking, daydreaming, or being late." She felt like the provincial teachers were "making fun of me." Blossom, Jade's grandma, said that in Anishinaabe culture, "yelling and publicly reprimanding each other is deemed rude" and instead, issues "are resolved calmly and privately meaning teachers should avoid getting upset verbally at Anishinaabe kids." Darryl, an elder, felt that "publicly correcting an Indigenous student's behaviour is humiliating because it is a culturally foreign way to treat relationships."

Some of the young peoples' absences during provincial schooling were because of Anishinaabe mourning traditions. Amelia explained that when her grandma passed away, "I

missed two weeks of school to attend the funeral and wake, but I wasn't allowed to make up my missed assignments." She said this "showed how racist the rules are in provincial schools." Sage concluded that provincial schools were "racist since they won't change for Anishinaabe things like funerals and ceremonies."

Implementing decolonisation at SLSS

SLSS' implementation of decolonisation is aided by hiring Anishinaabe staff (see Table 6.1). The administrative, culinary, and janitorial staff were all Anishinaabe people. Darren, the principal, explained that with the exception of Phyllis, "finding qualified Anishinaabe teachers is nearly impossible." Elsie, a teacher, agreed that Phyllis "set the tone for the classroom and taught all the white teachers about Anishinaabe ways." Iris commented that having Phyllis as a teacher "meant the classroom felt more like home."

The elders believed that SLSS was decolonising curricula. Rowen, an elder, said SLSS's "courses were being re-written to include Anishinaabe ideas, people, and history." Cedar was the only young person that commented on the lack of Anishinaabe content at SLSS, saying that the English Literature courses "still had novels that were written by only white people."

Although SLSS was still working towards rewriting curricula, SLSS decolonised special education by rejecting the provincial school programming (pp.18, 70, 144) and settler classroom procedures, by creating policies that encouraged a school environment aligning more with Anishinaabe beliefs. Sage explained that at SLSS, "my teachers don't correct behaviours all the time." For Cedar, the "biggest shock [*of being at SLSS*] was not having many rules—just respect yourself, others, and the school." SLSS's approach to discipline caused Raven to "feel free to make mistakes and learn."

The teachers considered that this more lenient classroom management addressed the students' behavioural needs in a culturally appropriate way. According to Elsie, many behaviours deemed "inappropriate at provincial school come from the students having hard situations at home." Each classroom had a couch at the back, on which students were allowed to sleep. Elsie explained, "there are many reasons our students come to school tired—We're just glad they came." Knowing the students was necessary to allow teachers to judge "when to gently correct their behaviours and when to lay off," as Elsie explained. My fieldnote journal provided examples of SLSS's lenient approach to classroom management. For example, when a student cussed, the teacher would "nonverbally let the student know it was not acceptable."

The elders frequently mentioned cultural differences regarding classroom discipline techniques. Blossom, Jade's grandma, said "often white teachers offend or scare Anishinaabe kids by yelling because Anishinaabe people correct children in a quiet way." Rowen, an elder mentioned that SLSS needed to have "culturally appropriate responses to students misbehaving." Darryl, an elder, explained that "harsh discipline like in provincial schools is not the Anishinaabe way—Instead we subtly correct or teach by example." He believed that "schools should develop freedom of thinking and not be about control."

Providing a safe place

SLSS needed to create a safe place because the young people had previously felt unsafe in schools. For example, upon arriving late to class in her provincial school, a teacher handed Raven a "cloth telling me to clean myself." It took Raven a "second to understand what was happening. I wasn't dirty—it was my brown skin." This experience caused her to enrol at SLSS. Amelia recounted that in a provincial school, a teacher called her "another Native slacker" which inspired her photo in Figure 6.2. She believed that in an "ideal world teachers would stop judging Anishinaabe students as bad."

Figure 6.2: "Ideal" by Amelia (Photovoice task 2)

Cedar felt that provincial schools were "purely racist places where my teachers treated me like I was dumb because of my race…so I enrolled here [*at SLSS*]." Sage believed that "white teachers think Native students have less ability to do schoolwork." Raven said her provincial school teachers "didn't want to understand my life and all the challenges—they just assumed I was another bad Native kid who was gonna [*sic*] drop out anyways." Amelia began as the "only brown kid in university-bound courses" but dropped out saying, "the

teachers thought all Native kids were too dumb for university level classes." Blossom, Jade's grandma, felt that provincial school teachers "should be more understanding by realising that Anishinaabe kids are different so they need to listen and take the time to place themselves in our [*Anishinaabe*] way of life because it's different than a white man." Miigwen, Iris' father, felt that teachers in provincial schools see "Native students as misbehaved because they [*the teachers*] refuse to see that Anishinaabe students come from a different culture, meaning they behave differently."

The young people also felt uncomfortable with the provincial school structure. Jade explained that, "I'm from a small Anishinaabe community where I know everyone, so it's hard to go to a school with a thousand strangers." Blossom, Jade's grandma, said "the hardest part [*of provincial schooling*] for him was switching between different teachers and classes of students meaning he had to figure out all these different relationships with students and teachers."

In provincial schools, the young people saw poverty as inhibiting their progress. Amelia said that at provincial school, she was "too hungry to learn anything," which tied in with the elders' belief that SLSS should provide basic necessities. Darren, the principal, explained that SLSS "tries to fulfil the unmet needs of our students so they can learn."

Creating safety at SLSS

In seeking to create a safe place, the majority of the programming involved meeting the students' needs for food, winter clothing, heating, and sanitary products (see Table 6.1). Rowen, an elder, thought that "giving students a fighting chance of progressing at school means providing things like food." Raven said that coming to SLSS "is a break from all the bad things in my life like worrying about finding food." She said, SLSS "is my only home, and it rescues me from not having food or a warm place to go." My fieldnotes recounted that the school provided Amelia with boots after she got frostbite[137] walking to school. SLSS also gave Cedar a winter jacket.

Aware of the economic issues facing the students, Elsie believed that providing food "helped them [*the students*] focus on the course material, and it is an incentive to come to school because most of them [*the students*] have limited access to food at home." She said teachers "never reprimanded students for stock piling food to take home." Nick, the head teacher, said that "living in a reserve means living in poverty."

[137] Frostbite is an injury caused by freezing of the skin and underlying tissue. This can cause permanent nerve and tissue damage that can result in amputation of limbs.

Each of the female young people expressed feeling safe at SLSS because of access to sanitary products. Sage said, "in provincial school, I missed school during my moon time. Sage developed a "serious infection once because from using unclean clothes." Having "free sanitary products makes a huge difference in [*Amelia's*] overall health, because before coming here [*to SLSS*] I used dried out and already used" sanitary pads collected from public toilets.

Nick, the head teacher, explained how SLSS provided safety for students battling addictions. He wanted the students to attend school in "whatever state because it is safer to have them here [*at SLSS*] than out on the streets using more drugs." Blossom, Jade's grandma, thought SLSS provided Jade with "a safe place where he wasn't shamed about his addictions." Providing a safe place helped Cedar overcome his addictions. After he relapsed, my field notes recounted a conversation with him, where he expressed being "thankful it [*SLSS*] exists so I can be supported in being drug-free."

The inclusion of Anishinaabe artwork and cultural practices at SLSS seemed to cause the young people to feel like it was safer than their previous provincial schools. Cedar said that SLSS was "a different school that is amazing because it is open to Anishinaabe people." This was captured in Figure 6.3 called "Eagle staff" [138] that showed "how safe this school is for Anishinaabe people."

Figure 6.3: "Eagle staff" by Cedar (Photovoice task 2)

At his previous school, Jade said there was an absence of "Anishinaabe cultural things causing Anishinaabe people to seem less good [*sic*]" when compared to settlers. Having an

[138] Eagle staffs are displayed and paraded at powwows and Anishinaabe administrative buildings. They are constructed by elders and represent the interconnected world. Alice, an elder, said that an eagle staff represents "the spirits of the grandparents connecting us to all the other spirits."

eagle staff at SLSS made Jade "hopeful that this school [*SLSS*] might actually think Anishinaabe people are worth helping."

Enhancing students' self-esteem

Each of the young people reported that failing in provincial schools impacted how they felt about themselves. Amelia said "failing [*at provincial school*] caused me to not feel good enough…and then my entire life to fall apart." Iris felt "discouraged at provincial school…like nothing was going to work out in my life." The elders and family members mentioned that racism at school damaged self-esteem. Darren, the principal, thought that "most Anishinaabe students have low self-esteem and just become invisible at school." He hoped SLSS would "help students feel better about themselves." Alice, an elder, worried that "low self-esteem is being passed on from the residential school survivors" and reinforced by ongoing "racism that makes white people seem better" than Anishinaabe people. Blossom, Jade's grandma, said, "being Native was made into a bad thing in residential schooling." Darryl, an elder, thought that "residential schooling was all about making Native people feel less than white people."

The elders and family members hoped that SLSS could meet the community need of enhancing student self-esteem. Doug, an elder, thought the "most important part of school for Anishinaabe students is validating them [*the students*]." Rowen, an elder, thought that "Indigenous control of education should have the purpose of teaching students to feel good about themselves." Blossom, Jade's grandma, thought schooling needs to "guide Anishinaabe students into believing in themselves because they are so used to failure at school." Sam, Sage's cousin, felt like schools should "encourage and support since many Anishinaabe teenagers struggle with feeling good about themselves."

The young people discussed the impact of school racism, and Raven said that "constant racism caused Indians to label themselves as failures that will not be as successful as white people." Occasionally she "wished I had been born a white person." As a child, Sage remembered "not wanting to be Native." Jade said racist experiences make "me not want to be brown." Cedar tries to "not let anyone discourage me about my race, but I know that a lot of people end up hurting themselves because they believe racist ideas." Raven's photo "In time" (Figure 6.4) was taken "to show that racism is everywhere, and I can't do much to make it better." This photo of her drawing shows a caged bird that represents her being "trapped within the cage of racism." She hoped that "in time racism will get better especially as older white people pass away."

Figure 6.4: "In time" by Raven (Photovoice task 2)

The young people felt unsure about how to combat racism. Jade said "there is no point yelling back [*at racist settlers*] because I'll just end up arrested." Similarly, Iris thought that "standing up to white people will not change their racist views."

Thus, creating a school without settler racism was deemed a critical part of building self-esteem. None of the young people had settler friends, even though each had attended provincial schools with predominantly settler students. Raven explained that the "brown and white students are in different levels of courses and sat at different tables for lunch so we never really interacted." Blossom, Jade's grandma, worried about sending her grandchildren to "white schools [*provincial schools*] because Native kids don't know how to socialise with white kids since their lives are very different." She believed this caused Anishinaabe students to "keep to themselves instead of trying to understand how to mix with the white students."

Building student self-esteem at SLSS

The young people talked about the impact of attending a school with only Anishinaabe students (see Table 6.1). Jade said that SLSS provided a "break from racism where I feel comfortable since it's just Anishinaabe students." Amelia said "at provincial school I experienced a lot of racism but not here [*at SLSS*]…it's the best school ever because I feel good about myself." The elders considered the solely self-identified Anishinaabe student policy as a way of enhancing student self-esteem. Rowen, an elder, said SLSS "should lift up Anishinaabe students, which wouldn't work in a [*racially*] integrated school." Nick, the head teacher, agreed that "many of the students defined being Indigenous as a failure, so one of main purposes of the school is to celebrate their culture."

In addition, the young people reported that teacher-facilitated conflict resolution helped to build their self-worth. As previously explained, Iris, Jade, and Raven recognised

their difficulties with anger management (pp.152-153). Iris expressed feeling "really bad after an outburst, but I know the teachers try to help me feel comfortable telling me everything would be okay and that I am still a good person." Sage said that the teachers "help me make things right" after arguments with her classmates.

The teachers believed the young people worried that a behavioural outburst might damage relationships permanently. Nick said the students would "beat themselves up inside after having an anger issue, but they seemed to not know how to restore peace." As such, teaching the students to apologise and move on was crucial to building their self-esteem. In the aftermath of Iris' outbursts, Elsie said she "accepts her apology and quickly redirects her." My research journal documented an outburst Sage had during a tutoring session with me. I responded by leaving her alone and working with another student. Elsie corrected me saying, "Sage needs you to facilitate the forgiveness process." This involved finding Sage, accepting her apology, and helping her transition back to working with me. This method of teacher-facilitated conflict resolution was central to how SLSS built student self-esteem.

Teacher-reported responses to imbalances

SLSS's stance of decolonising special education required that the teachers assess and meet all the students' needs. In chapter 6, the young people identified learning, addiction, behavioural, physical, and mental imbalances (pp. 148-154). Elsie and Nick, both teachers at SLSS, mentioned these areas of student needs within their teacher interviews. Forming trusting teacher-student relationships was the cornerstone of responding to the students' needs. The following section begins by discussing teacher-student relationships at SLSS and is followed by examining teacher-reported responses to imbalances. The next sections rely predominantly on the teacher interviews (Appendix J) and my fieldnote and reflection journals (Appendix O).

Teacher-student relationships at SLSS

Relationships the teachers formed with each of the students were considered at the heart of SLSS's programme. Seeking *nii'kinaaganaa* (p. 99) includes relationships between the students and teachers, however, chapter 4 did not delve into these relationships. Interviews with the teachers and young people included questions about how the teachers responded to the young peoples' needs (Appendix J). Darren, the principal, thought SLSS "sees the whole student and tries to help our students balance all the areas of the medicine wheel." Nick, the head teacher, "expects teachers to meet the unique needs of each student without a formal disability diagnosis." Yet, the training courses that accredited all of SLSS's teachers assumed there would be formalised special education diagnosis guiding programming. Elsie explained

that teachers at SLSS were expected to embrace this philosophy "out of respect for Anishinaabe beliefs like not labelling people." Nick, the head teacher, said SLSS relies on "teachers building relationships with the students so we [*the teachers*] have insights into adapting to their [*the students'*] needs."

The importance of relationships with the students was mentioned by the teachers. Nick, the head teacher, wanted the classroom to "feel like a home where everyone matters." Elsie said "I know all about each of my students so I can provide them with the best one-on-one help." Phyllis believed "the whole approach at this school [*SLSS*] relies on the teachers knowing the students well." Nick saw the purpose for SLSS's programme as "enabling students to succeed at school by knowing how to help each student." Darren, the principal, explained that when Anishinaabe students have "solid and respectful relationships with their teachers, learning is possible."

The young people saw their relationships with the teachers at SLSS as crucial to school success. Amelia said, "I love my teachers here [*at SLSS*] because they ask 'how are you?' every day." Iris said she "feels safe" at SLSS because Nick "sits down and talks to me like he actually wants to know me." Miigwen, Iris' father, said at SLSS he "sees hope because the teachers actually talk to her [*Iris*] about her life and dreams." Whenever Amelia was late for school, the teachers would contact her at home which made "me feel important and good because someone cares about me."

Relationships with the teachers were significant for Jade. After dropping out of various provincial schools, Jade was "just depressed sitting at home." Phyllis, the Anishinaabe teacher, "heard a rumour about him [*Jade*], and I went to his house to enrol him in our school." Seeing that "a teacher wanted me to come to school made me think that [*SLSS*] must be different from any other school." Jade was "amazed by how much the teachers care" at SLSS. Raven said, "my favourite memory about the school [*SLSS*] is the teachers because I am close to them. They made school more like a home for me than anywhere else." Her photo, titled "Home" (Figure 6.5) featured herself and Elsie, her teacher, holding a file of her coursework. Raven said, this photo shows that "my teachers are always there for me making my graduation possible."

Figure 6.5: "Home" by Raven (Photovoice task 2)

Jade said "my teachers here [*at SLSS*] have really big hearts—golden hearts." Blossom, Jade's grandma, attributes his success at SLSS to the "teachers who take the time to get to know him." Whenever Jade expressed worries about school, his grandma Blossom, reminds him that "the teachers are there for you!" Sage reported that she "likes coming to school [*at SLSS*] because I know the teachers like me."

The significance of teacher-student relationships was also recorded in my research journals. For instance, when Amelia ended up in jail overnight, Elsie arranged a taxi and clothes for Amelia to come to school the next morning. Likewise, when Cedar was placed in foster care, Nick petitioned for transportation to ensure that Cedar could complete the school year. Cedar said "knowing that my teachers really want me in their classrooms makes me feel good." During Raven's pregnancy, her lack of maternity clothes caused her to stop coming to school. My fieldnote journal recorded that Elsie dropped off a "bag of maternity clothes anonymously for her [*Raven*], and she came to school wearing these clothes the next morning."

When the elders were asked about SLSS, they each mentioning teacher-student relationships. Barbra, an elder, said, "I hear a lot of good things about the teachers that work" at SLSS. Stewart, an elder, commented that "people talk about the nice teachers" at SLSS. Alice, also an elder, said that SLSS, "is all about building relationships between the teachers and students." Darryl, an elder, heard that SLSS "is a great school because the teachers care a lot ."

Learning

The teachers believed that independent study courses with flexible timelines, were essential to meeting their students' needs. Nick, the head teacher, explained that these courses

"have no deadlines and can be completed at the student's pace." Elsie saw the independent courses as "freeing up time for me to work with the students one-on-one instead of teaching lessons." Likewise, my research journal documented that the teachers spent most of the day helping individual students.

However, the teachers also mentioned the limitations of these courses. Nick, the head teacher, said that low reading levels, common amongst SLSS students, made these courses "hard for basically all of them." Elsie thought that SLSS should "reform the independent courses by giving other options like oral reports, art projects, or making videos." Elsie believed this would "make the courses more interesting and accommodate the different learning imbalances our students face." Phyllis thought the students "struggled with all the English courses because this subject is less conducive to independent study." Correspondingly, the young people recognised the limitations of these courses (see p. 150).

The teachers mentioned using iPads as a way of responding to the young peoples' learning imbalances. Elsie said, Sage "uses the iPad to write answers because then she has grammar and spell check." However, some teachers disagreed with the use of the iPad. For instance, Nick asked Sage to handwrite all the answers written using the iPad, because "the typed answers made the work too easy." Elsie mentioned during an interview, that when Sage attended a provincial school, she had an Individualised Education Plan[139] (IEP) that specified using a dictation programme.[140] Disagreements between teachers on what constituted "fair" help for students also extended into grading. My research journal recorded an incident concerning Sage's English course. Nick deducted 10% off her overall grade saying "it is only fair since she had so much help and wasn't capable of completing it [*the course*] alone." In contrast, Elsie thought Sage "earned the grade without any deduction since my help was what she needed to meet her learning needs." Reflecting on this disagreement, Elsie said, "students' special education rights were not being upheld here [*at SLSS*]." The lowering of student grades when Nick felt student had "a lot of help" reoccurred with other students at SLSS during my fieldwork.

Addiction

SLSS's free movement policy aligned with promoting healthy lifestyles as a purpose of schooling (p. 175). However, the young people and teachers were aware that this policy

[139] Individualised Education Plan (IEP) are part of the Ontario special education programme. These formalised documents outline the accommodations and adaptations that teachers are legally required to provide to each student accessing special education provisions.

[140] Access to a dictation programme could be considered common practice for a student with dyslexia (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2001)

also helped accommodate students with substance addictions. Nick, the head teacher, thought allowing smoking breaks contributed to the success of students at SLSS. Cedar explained that "I am trying to replace my drug use with smoking cigarettes, but this is only possible because of the school's [*free movement*] policy." Amelia explained that leaving the classroom for smoking breaks meant "I can manage my urges for drugs and get my schoolwork done."

Behavioural

The free movement policy was seen by the teachers as a response to the students' behavioural imbalances. Nick, the head teacher, mentioned that a fully-equipped, unoccupied classroom provided an additional space "so teachers can allow students to take a break from each other and still get work done." The teachers also encouraged the students to go for walks after behavioural issues occurred. Elsie believed this practice taught the students "self-regulation autonomy in managing their behaviours" as discussed earlier (p. 152).

Nick, the head teacher, considered technology to be a means of managing students' behavioural imbalances. Students had unlimited access to Wi-Fi, iPads, and headphones. Nick reported that the iPads and Wi-Fi "allow the students to be 'plugged in' and focus more on their own work instead of bugging each other." Phyllis justified this use of technology saying that most students "concentrate better with sound in the background." In contrast, Elsie believed unlimited Wi-Fi access was a distraction. My field notes documented that unlimited Wi-Fi access brought online arguments into the classroom, causing frequent behavioural issues.

SLSS also instituted a reward programme which offered weekly and long-term cash incentives for attending school and completing coursework. Nick and Phyllis believed it was an important component in dealing with student behavioural imbalances. Nick reasoned that "dangling money usually helps to motivate anyone." Elsie disagreed with the incentive programme saying it "causes more behavioural issues," and my fieldnotes say that Iris and Raven had violent outbursts when their cash incentive arrived late. Elsie also believed that the cash incentives "undermine promoting healthy habits like sobriety." Correspondingly, my fieldnotes documented that Cedar was often absent after receiving his cash incentives. He said, "I use my incentive money on partying—drugs and alcohol—then I'm hungover and miss some school." This suggests that the incentive programme presented challenges in relation to promoting healthy lifestyles.

Physical

The only physical imbalance the teachers discussed related to Iris' type 1 diabetes. Elsie discussed trying to meet Iris' physical needs by purchasing low carbohydrate snacks for the classroom. However, Elsie said Iris "was not receptive and just eats what the rest of the students are eating." Elsie seemed to be only teacher aware of the behavioural, mental, and emotional aspects of diabetes.

Mental

Aligning with the purpose of promoting student self-esteem at SLSS, the teachers' relationships with each of the students seemed to encourage student self-esteem. Nick, the head teacher, knew that many of the students struggled with depression causing him to "compliment every student about something daily." Amelia said that the teachers "motivate me with compliments, and that makes me feel good about myself." Similarly, Sage said, "coming to school makes me less depressed because the teachers say nice things about me." However, Phyllis, the Anishinaabe teacher, questioned praising the students, worrying that "the students are being babied and wouldn't have the determination needed in the real-world."

Conclusion

This chapter examined the purposes of schooling from the perspectives of the young people, family members, teachers, and elders. SLSS was formed to focus on the needs of Anishinaabe students and their reserves, which provincial schools in Riverside failed to address (see p. 171). As such, the purposes for SLSS included increasing employability, cultivating cultural revitalisation, promoting healthy lifestyles, implementing decolonisation, creating safety, and encouraging student self-esteem (Table 6.1). SLSS's purposes demonstrate that this Anishinaabe-controlled institution is an explicitly political project, engaged in the mammoth task of attempting to tackle and reverse settler oppression. The purposes behind the creation of SLSS are the result of settler colonialism, thus aligning with *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations) discussed in chapter 4. This extends to chapter 5, and the young peoples' discussions concerning the causes of their imbalances, suggesting that the formation of SLSS stems from various factors, most of which were systemic. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the purposes behind SLSS's formation, seem to be linked by the participants to settler oppression in various reiterations.

Tensions between Anishinaabe cultural revitalisation and globalisation were part of enacting these purposes of schooling at SLSS. The young people and their family members believed that settler colonisation destroyed Anishinaabe ways of surviving off the land,

meaning that Anishinaabe people needed to earn money in the settler economy (p. 173). In providing the schooling needed to enter the settler workforce, it was hoped that SLSS would create the pathway to, as Miigwen put it, "jobs in a white town." However, this in turn could be viewed as contrary to SLSS' aim of promoting cultural revitalisation. Although the elders and family members wanted SLSS's graduates to earn money through formalised employment in the settler workplace, the young people were also expected to revitalise Anishinaabe culture. The tensions between these purposes correlates with what the young people termed "walking in two worlds" in chapter 4. It is unsurprising then, that SLSS became the battleground on which these opposing ideas were tackled. It also underscores the fact that federal schools have a significant role to play in dealing with the tensions entrenched within Indigenous life in Canada.

SLSS's approach to responding to the young people's imbalances aligned with the school's purpose of decolonisation. Corresponding with the teachings of the medicine wheel discussed in chapter 5, the teachers sought to respond to each student's needs individually. This approach was based on strong teacher-student relationships, framed by the concept of *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations).

Anishinaabe conceptions of imbalances and common settler notions of disability seemed to clash, as the teachers explained their responses to learning imbalances. Nick, the head teacher, deducted grades when students received help from teachers (p. 186), and yet, the teachers were encouraged to work one-on-one with students to meet their learning imbalances. This is just one example of the difficulties in implementing the medicine wheel's understanding of imbalances at all levels of school programming. It could also be considered another reverberation of the tensions between settler and Anishinaabe ways of knowing, manifested in schooling.

These tensions, present in each of my findings chapters, are examined in detail alongside relevant literature, within the following chapter.

Chapter 7 - “Soar like an eagle”

Introduction

My fieldnote research journal documented that during the second talking circle, Raven discussed the powwow photovoice exhibit saying, “this event needs a good title that shows how important it is to our reserves.” At the time of this talking circle, the entire-school art project was underway and the young people were spending time helping the primary students complete their portion of the project. Raven explained, “we are making feathers and then putting them together into huge wings, we all made, which I think is symbolic.” Amelia agreed saying that the finished project would be “like eagle wings.” At this point Raven suggested that the powwow photovoice exhibit should be called “‘soar like an eagle” because all the students [*at SLSS*] are trying to soar while facing hard stuff.” The young people from the other talking circle loved this title. Cedar said Anishinaabe people “use eagle feathers in every single ceremony, and finding a feather in the forest is a huge deal since they are sacred.”

This discussion reminded me of various times during my fieldwork when eagles were discussed with a sense of reverence. Students made tobacco offerings to the Eagle Staff at the entrance to SLSS. Cedar also took a photo featuring the eagle staff within SLSS’s doorway (p.180). During a walking interview, Cedar and I saw a golden eagle in the forest, which he viewed with sacredness (p.137). In a walking interview with Sage, we spotted eagles soaring over a partially frozen lake. We saw a few eaglets attempting their first flights. Sage considered this a communication from her late aunt “who is still teaching me how to soar — just like the mother eagle.” Iris’ photo “Feathers” (p.139) featured wearing her powwow regalia alongside an elder holding an eagle feather. She said the powwow photovoice exhibit title was “perfect because feathers are sacred just like powwow dancing.”

Literature on Anishinaabe culture often notes the spiritual significance of eagles (Anderson, 2011; Bouchard & Martin, 2009; Johnston, 1976), as they are considered symbols of strength, leadership, and prestige (Spirits of the west coast art gallery, 2019). In selecting this title for the powwow photovoice exhibit, the young people were signalling the spiritual significance of what they were doing. Sage thought it was the “perfect name because eagles are the most sacred animal to Anishinaabe people.” When I asked why, Sage said it was because “eagles carry all our prayers or ceremonies up to the creator so we can be healed.” The young people wanted the powwow photovoice exhibit to promote individual and community healing, and wanted the messages from their photos, combined with the powwow, to be transported by the eagles up to the creator. They wanted to be heard and healed.

All of my Anishinaabe participants spoke of seeking healing, an inextricably spiritual pursuit, which is embedded within the major ideas presented in the previous findings chapters. My Anishinaabe participants' responses to imbalances involved engaging in actions to restore balance, such as spiritual ceremonies, nurtured hobbies, attended therapy, and invoked coping mechanisms (p. 160). These actions could be considered demonstrations of resiliency. The young people understood disability within the larger ontology of the medicine wheel, which depicts interrelatedness (p. 147). Imbalances within the medicine wheel were considered an Anishinaabe understanding nearest to the Northern concept of disability.

Healing was pursued across various levels, involving the young people, their family members, and elders all—of whom viewing healing as the central purpose of schooling. The legacies of residential schooling and ongoing settler oppression in provincial schooling led my Anishinaabe participants to view schooling as needing to increase employability, revitalise Anishinaabe culture, promote healthy lifestyles, decolonise, provide a safe place, and enhance students' self-esteem (p.172). Each of these purposes of schooling addressed settler injustices which could be interpreted as a community act of resiliency. Resiliency will be returned to later in this chapter.

By considering the synergies and incongruences between the medicine wheel and the ICF, this chapter intends to make meaning of the conceptions of disability expressed by my Anishinaabe participants. Anishinaabe spirituality, an ontological stance differing from the ICF, seemed to influence my participants' lived experiences of imbalances and shaped their responses to these imbalances. Participating in Anishinaabe spiritual ceremonies seemed to assist the young people with their imbalances. Spirituality, colonisation, and disability co-mingled in their discussions of historical trauma. The significance of SLSS in balancing schooling for cultural revitalisation, on one hand, and schooling for economic advancement within the settler system on the other, plays out within SLSS. SLSS could be considered a site for healing which promotes Anishinaabe resiliency by fostering balance, connectedness, cleansing, discipline, and empowerment.

In seeking to adhere to Indigenist research tenets (pp. 51- 49), I attempt to decolonise the often hegemonic generation of knowledge in this chapter by relying predominantly on work written by or involving Indigenous peoples. However, I acknowledge that experiences of settler colonialism are not uniform and Indigenous peoples are not a homogenised group. However, common experiences of settler dominance, knowledge oppression, and acts of resistance demonstrate the ongoing turbulence of settler-Indigenous relations globally.

Congruencies between the medicine wheel and the ICF

The medicine wheel was used by my Anishinaabe research participants to describe the Anishinaabe ontology of interrelatedness and specifically their lived experiences of imbalances (p. 148). The medicine wheel shown in Figure 5.2 (p. 148) expresses the human condition with parallels within the quadrants which are all seen as connected (Ross, 2014). It portrays the world as individuals embedded within interdependent relationships. In seeking to understand disability, I next review the continuities between the ICF and the medicine wheel.

Within Northern disability literature, the ICF could be considered the dominant multi-level model of understanding disability (WHO, 2001). The ICF's merger of the medical and social models of disability was necessary because both models failed to capture that "biology and society are intertwined in a dialectical relationship" rather than a dichotomy (Imrie, 2004, p. 288). Within the ICF, disability is considered a "dynamic interaction between a person's health condition, environmental factors, and personal factors" (WHO, 2001). Interactions with society are examined within the categories of health condition, body functions and structures, activity, participation, environmental factors, personal factors, and general health (Simeonsson, 2003, 2009; WHO, 2001). As depicted in Figure 7.1, these components interact with each other.

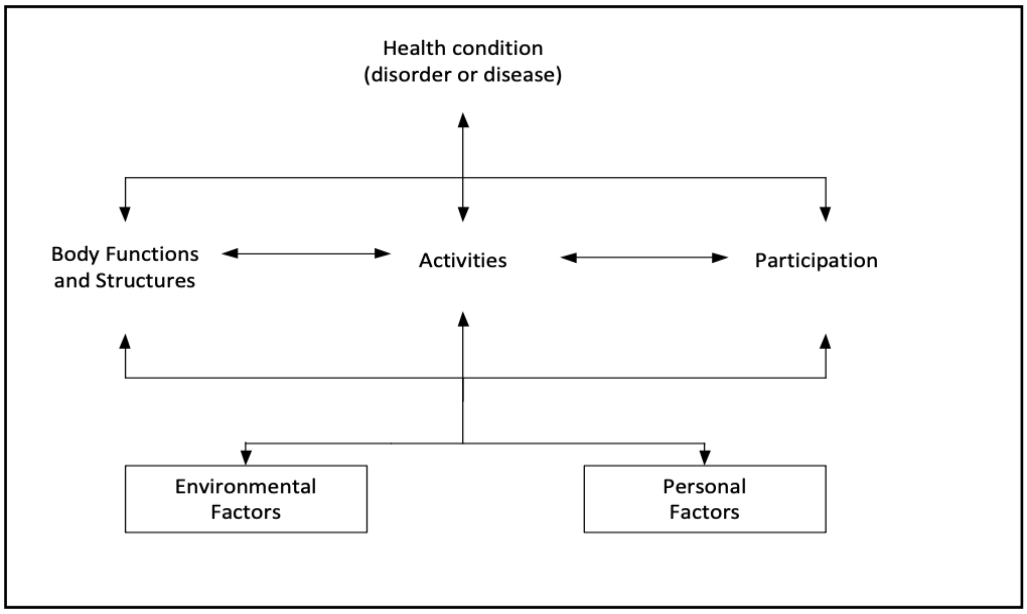

Figure 7.1: The ICF model (WHO, 2001, p. 18)

The ICF shifted disability theory from focussing on causation to the influence of disability on interactions within one's environment (Alford et al., 2013). On a practical level, the ICF strives to demonstrate standardised language, terms, and concepts regarding disability in hopes to inform research and services development (WHO, 2013). This model conceptualises disability as: contextually-based, multidimensional, and a universal

phenomenon existing on a continuum of health. Therefore, the "term 'disability' may…refer to different characteristics in different policy sectors or countries" meaning that "differences in definitions can be recognised and people with disabilities who have been excluded or are underrepresented under a specific definition may be identified" (WHO, 2013, p. 17). The contextual premise of the ICF relies on individual reports concerning functioning and researchers' awareness of particular contexts (Barnes & Mercer, 2011).

The similarities between the ICF and the medicine wheel are depicted in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Similarities between the ICF and the medicine wheel

ICF	Medicine wheel
Universalism: disability is a feature of the human condition experienced by many if not all of human beings at some point in their lives (Edwards, 2005).	**Universalism:** Each person experiences imbalances within the various quadrants of the medicine wheel (Anderson, 2011). Seeking balance is a life-long pursuit.
Functioning language: by classifying functioning and disability, the focus shifts from health condition to functioning (WHO, 2013).	**Functioning language:** areas of imbalance are based on the extent to which a person is unable to do what she/he wants (p. 146).
Neutrality: definitions are phrased in neutral language allowing for the positive and negative aspects of functioning and disability to be articulated (WHO, 2001).	**Neutrality:** frames imbalances practically, without the value judgment of deficiency. These descriptions articulate ways community members can assist each other.
Context: the wide range of environmental and personal factors are framed as central to understating functioning and disability.	**Context:** wellness is dynamic with each area of the medicine wheel interacting with numerous factors and within the larger community.

Universalism could be considered as underpinning both frameworks. My Anishinaabe participants noted that everyone was seeking balance (p. 148). As Darryl, an elder, explained, people "are always considered a whole person even if aspects [*of the medicine wheel*] are unbalanced." The ICF's notion of universality considers disability and functioning as an interplay within all human existence (Barnes & Mercer, 2011). However, the ICF's universalism has been widely criticised for subverting the political movement of disability justice (Edwards, 2005). Recalling that the ICF subsumed the social model of disability, the claim of universality seems to contradict the social model's underpinning of minority group status pursuing disability rights.

Seeking to use neutral language, the ICF allows for both the facilitators and barriers of functioning to be considered. Likewise, the medicine wheel promotes considering both the areas of balance and imbalance. For instance, imbalances are described using verb-based descriptions allowing for community members to accommodate each other more easily (pp. 144-146). The Anishinaabe participants widely discussed avoiding deficit thinking concerning

disability because human functioning was considered ever-changing, and focusing on an imbalances could exaggerate that imbalance (p. 146).

Both the medicine wheel and the ICF seek deeply contextualised understandings of disability. The ICF's inclusion of environment and personal factors aligns with the belief of interrelatedness my participants discussed within chapter 4. Currently, the personal factors category of the ICF remains unclassified because of the wide-range of factors that could be deemed contextually relevant (Kostanjsek, 2010). Assessment of these factors "is left to the user" of the ICF "if needed" (WHO, 2001, p.19). As such, the ICF is rendered as responsive as the user to context (Barnes & Mercer, 2011).

A systematic review of literature applying the ICF in Indigenous communities in Australia and Canada concluded that the ICF has the potential to understand disability from an Indigenous perspective when contextual factors are considered (Alford et al., 2013). However, the literature reviewed was limited necessitating additional research to "determine if the ICF is a culturally appropriate tool" or "whether modification of the framework is necessary for use" within Indigenous communities (Alford et al., 2013, p. 7). Beaudin (2010), an Indigenous researcher, examined health conceptions within the Oneida[141] found that the ICF lacked awareness regarding how cultural factors influenced other components of the ICF. Similarly, Senior's (2000) research that applied the ICF's predecessor within two Australian Aborigine communities found that "without thorough knowledge of the community," seeking to include personal factors "has the potential to produce misleading results" (p. 23). The current version of the ICF still leaves personal factors at the discretion of researchers to define. Both of these examples, provide a cautionary warning to researchers concerning contextualisation when applying the ICF.

Considering that the ICF relies on contextualising within the environmental and personal aspects of individuals' lives; and so the theoretical, ontological, and methodological underpinnings of researchers could facilitate or inhibit the assessment of contextual factors. The challenges of applying the ICF to Indigenous communities could stem from ontological incongruencies, which I turn to next.

Incongruencies in ontologies

Ontology is the theory of the nature of existence (S. Wilson, 2008) which often includes beliefs about concepts like human nature, morality, conceptions of time, and the significance of place (L. T. Smith, 1999). The ICF and medicine wheel could be deemed

[141]Oneida refers to a First Nations and Native American tribe that originally inhabited present-day New York, United States and Ontario, Canada.

fundamentally incongruent because of ontological differences. Concepts like consciousness, psyche, and the delineation between the mind and body, all stem from Northern ontologies that are often assumed to be universal the world over (Smith 1999). Northern theories around disability offer well-honed methods, profound insights, and robust theoretical frameworks; however, "its theorising is vitiated whenever it refuses to recognise its an ethno-sociological being" leading to a "profound problem about truthfulness of arguments framed as universal generalisations" (Connell, 2007, p. 226).

As explained in chapter 2 (p. 21), knowledge generation and claims involve power relations (Connell, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). Knowledge from the North often has a hegemonic position (Connell, 2007) whereby the privilege of Northern knowledge gained from the normalisation of these ideas, values, and beliefs remains unnoticed (Battiste, 2013). Northern ways of knowing could be considered "tacit and unspoken knowledge, those assumptions by which we make sense and meaning in daily life" (Nakata, 2007, p. 9). To "deny or simply be unaware of ontologies is rife with power and the potential of ontological violence" greatly increases (Wright et al., 2016, p. 25). Within the North's disability discourse, power relations in knowledge generation could cause some to argue that the ICF is a "white way of knowing" that is largely invisible to those in the North (Nelson, 2007).

All forms of colonialism engage in cognitive imperialism, whereby Northern reality is often considered the "only ideas which can make sense of the world…of social life and of human beings" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 56). L.T. Smith (1999) goes on to explain that "what makes ideas 'real' is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located" (p.48). As such, the ICF could be seen as developing within the context of the North's philosophy, history, social systems, and values. Theories developed within the North's context of colonial domination could overshadow or ignore other ways of knowing (Connell, 2007).

Indigenous scholars globally caution against the assumption that Indigenous knowledge systems can be easily infused into the dominant knowledge system (Battiste, 2013; Connell, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2005b; S. Wilson, 2008). Indeed, attempts to infuse Northern theories with Indigenous knowledge could be deemed ontological violence, which includes a transactional approach to knowledge, whereby Northern scholarship removes components of Indigenous knowledges from the larger context and claims this knowledge within a Northern ontology (Bullen & Flavell, 2017; Hart, 2002; Wright et al., 2016). The North's tendency to "integrate different systems of knowledge" (Connell, 2007, p. 220) has been widely cautioned against by Indigenous scholars (Battiste, 2008; Nakata, 2007; L. T.

Smith, 1999; S. Wilson, 2008; Wright et al., 2016). Indeed, Nakata, a Torres Strait Islander[142] (2007), writes, "it is not possible to bring Indigenous knowledge and plonk it" with Northern theories "unproblematically" (p.8). For Mi'kmaq scholar Battiste (2007), attempts to integrate Indigenous ontologies within Northern knowledge shows ongoing settler dominance in the form of cognitive imperialism, in which case, attempting to merge the medicine wheel with the ICF could be considered ontological violence.

There are ontological beliefs of the medicine wheel like interrelatedness and holistic thinking that could be deemed incongruent with individualism that is embedded within the ICF. The ICF considers various factors like one's environment, but essentially, the individual is the central unit. Framing the individual as the "basic social unit from which other social units and social relations form" is a Northern conception (L. T. Smith, 1999). With regards to interrelatedness, as explained within chapter 4, the SGT expressed how the young people viewed the world (p. 100). Similarly, the aspirations the young people shared demonstrated their desire to help their communities (pp. 103,104-106, 107, 109-110). Within the literature, many scholars suggest that Indigenous peoples have an ontological stance of interrelatedness (Anderson, 2011; S. Wilson, 2008). Couture (2013), a Cree-Métis[143] psychologist explained that "a traditional native [*sic*] sense-of-self" is an "embedded, enfolded socio-centric self" meaning the Indigenous "mind is…a mind-in-relational activity and a mind-in-community" (p. 229). Similarly, Ross (2014), a Canadian legal scholar whose work examines cultural differences between Anishinaabe peoples and settlers explained that Indigenous peoples often "see life as an interconnected bundle of responsibilities," whereas, settlers see "instead a collection of autonomous rights against all other life forms" (p.231).

The ontological belief of interrelatedness is further demonstrated by the medicine wheel's depiction of a holistic understanding of human existence. The medicine wheel symbolises "many related ideas and/or entities," and is premised on wholeness, so that an absence of any of these four quadrants signifies that "the world is incomplete and cannot be" (Regnier, 1994, p. 132). Alice, an elder, explained this saying, "focussing on an imbalance by using a label could cause the person to not see all the parts of themselves" which would undermine seeking balance. Similarly, Sage resisted "thinking I'm just a person that can't read because that ignores all the other things about me." Iris explained her behavioural

[142] Torres Strait Islander are an distinct Indigenous group from islands within present-day Queensland, Australia.

[143] Cree-Métis are a cultural community with mixed Cree (First Nations) and European heritage. Earlier waves of French colonisation in central Canada have resulted in most Métis people having French heritage. Métis was explained in Figure 1.1 (p. 5)

imbalances and type 1 diabetes followed by saying, “I am so many things that all impact each other—not just my imbalances.”

The medicine wheel’s holistic ontology could be considered at odds with the ICF’s more atomistic ontology. The ICF is a model for examining health and disability, but its focus on individual functioning could be deemed disability-centric, because holism is undermined by focusing on functioning. The North often frames knowledge using atomistic thinking, which is “looking for the smallest individual component before seeing the ‘bigger picture’” (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 56). Within Indigenous literature, the North’s tendency to analyse by looking at “discrete parts” often leads to a lack of considering “relationships between the parts” rendering the knowledge gleaned ahistorical and reductionistic (Hart, 2002, p. 30). Within my research, the Anishinaabe participants’ resistance to use disability labels could be seen as a rejection of atomistic thinking.

In addition, the ICF’s focus on functionality could fail to consider other areas of an individual’s life. For example, participation is defined in the ICF as “involvement of people in all areas of life, and the participation restrictions they experience” (WHO, 2008). This definition could neglect participation restrictions based on race, class, gender, or religion suggesting that participation for peoples with disabilities is solely based on functionality (Hollinsworth, 2013; Imrie, 2004). This could lead to the ICF’s assumption that disability denotes the most significant barrier to participation could stem from atomistic thinking (Anderson, 2011). Senior’s (2000) research concerning Indigenous disability in Australia noted that participation barriers experienced by her Indigenous disabled participants usually involved systemic racism meaning their barriers were not solely based on having a disability. Similarly, in my research, the young people experienced exclusion predominantly because they were Anishinaabe and not specifically based on their imbalances. This type of exclusion would not be captured within the ICF.

In research, ontology is significant because aspects of lived experiences might remain unrealised because the researcher assumes certain ontological positions. It can be argued that the ontological underpinning of interrelatedness and holistic thinking are expressions of Anishinaabe spirituality. Indeed, within an Anishinaabe ontology, “knowledge is not secular” because it is “derived from creation, and as such, it has a sacred purpose” and is “connected to all of nature, to its creatures, and to human existence” (Battiste, 2013, p. 161). Failing to acknowledge spirituality could be one of the factors that generates SDT critiques that the ICF often fails to reconcile dimensions of cultural diversity alongside disability (C. Barker & Murray, 2010; Ingstad & Whyte, 2007).

In relation to my research, the ICF's failure to capture cultural diversity could led to discounting Anishinaabe spiritual beliefs. Yet, spirituality proved essential to exploring Anishinaabe conceptions of imbalances within my research.

Spirituality and disability

Without considering spirituality, the lived experiences of the young people with imbalances would likely have been overlooked. In chapter 6, the medicine wheel was presented as the overarching Anishinaabe conceptualisation of *nii'kinaaganaa* (p. 148). One of the many interpretations of the medicine wheel is the dimensions of self, comprising of the mind, spirit, emotion, and physical dimensions. This shaped the Anishinaabe participants' understandings of imbalances and responses to their imbalances. Notably, in seeking to balance the quadrants of their own medicine wheels, the young people engaged in a range of ceremonies (p. 160). As the young people explained how they responded to their imbalances, the significance of spiritual beliefs especially ceremonies was apparent. For example, Sage dealt with her reading issues by "smudging to feel calm." Cedar believed "the best thing that helps me with my drug addiction is smudging every day" (p. 161).

For many people, spiritual beliefs form a major source of meaning that influences worldviews, including understandings of disability (Grech, 2012). Indigenous spirituality challenges "widely-accepted divisions and binaries" common in the North "including but not limited to: sacred/secular; human/animal and land/knowledge" (Jaffee & John, 2018, p. 1410). Within my research, the Anishinaabe participants believed that spirituality was "an integral part of the human self…the very process of constituting lived reality as embodied beings includes the transcendent both within and beyond" (Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010, p. 199). Spirituality relates to disability within in many Indigenous ontologies because people are "embodied" and "relationally creating the world" together with "not just other humans, but the other beings, with the earth and with what is unseen or non-material" (Stienstra & Ashcroft, 2010, p. 199). Similarly, within SDT literature, the North's failure to include spirituality has been criticised for obstructing understanding the lived realities of people with disabilities (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014).

Indeed within my research, the young people's spiritual beliefs, like their relationships with land and their ancestors, influenced their imbalances. Each of these aspects is explored below.

Nii'kinaaganaa with the land

In centring the role of spirituality, Indigenous scholars frequently discuss relationships with the land as foundational (Biermann, 2008; Coleman, Battiste, Henderson, Findlay, &

Findlay, 2012; Jaffee & John, 2018). Alice, an elder, explained Anishinaabe people "need to feel connected" to "who they are" and this connection happened through "being with the earth." Cajete, a Tewa[144] scholar (2000), explained the significance of land as, "All Indigenous tribes are ultimately tied to the relationships that they have established…to certain places in which they lived for such a long time that their landscapes become reflections of their very souls" (p.183). Reality is often considered as coming "directly from the world" (Deloria, 1994, p. 67).

As shown in chapter 4, the Anishinaabe belief of *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations) includes relationships with the land. The young people talked about being in nature to feel calm, peaceful, and safe (p. 162). Sage's photo titled "My lake" (p.136) was taken because she felt at peace and comfortable being on her tribal land. As previously discussed, the young people often went on walks in the forest to help with their imbalances. Correspondingly, in chapter 3, the walking interviews proved essential in gaining insight into the role of relationships with the land in the students' lives (p. 84).

Often animal sightings were understood as communication from deceased loved ones, meaning that my Anishinaabe participants' connection to the land was irrevocably linked to their ancestors.

Nii'Kinaaganaa with ancestors

The frequent dualism of past/present and dead/alive, common in Northern ontologies, was challenged by how my Anishinaabe participants understood the world. Spiritual beliefs concerning ancestors directly impacted the young peoples' experiences of imbalances. As mentioned earlier (pp.160-5), the young people discussed and photographed interactions with deceased tribal members, referring to them in present tense. When I asked about possibly meeting her aunt, Sage said, "you already met her." My presence on Anishinaabe land constituted meeting her aunt who had died two years ago. Similarly, Amelia said, "I talk to my grandma when I need help." Her grandma died eight years ago. This quote from a walking interview, demonstrates Amelia's understanding of her ongoing relations with her grandma:

> I know this might sound crazy. But sometimes, I go into the forest and I just talk to her [*Amelia's grandma*] like she is here. It feels nice. Sometimes it feels like I can hear her whispering back to me…This one time, I was just sitting listening to the fire crackle. And all of a sudden, there was a big gust of wind and I heard a sound like

[144] Tewa are a linguistical group within the Pueblo Native American tribe. This tribe originally inhabited the region of present-day New Mexico, United States.

> behind my ear. I knew it was her talking to me. A lot of times I hear her talking to me…It makes me feel really happy and actually more comfortable in my life. It makes me know that I'm not alone. Because she is there for me always. So, I know I can face all my imbalances with her help.

Similarly, Rowen, an elder, said, "I offer tobacco to my grandfather and just talk with him asking for help in dealing with my alcoholism." His grandfather passed away 20 years ago.

Therefore, relationships with deceased loved ones were essential in responding to imbalances. This relates to the literature about the significance of the land and animals as a resting place for the dead (Cajete, 2000; Deloria, 1994). Prominent Lakota theologian, Deloria (1994), wrote that most Indigenous spiritual beliefs include that the "ancestors are still spiritually alive on the land" (p. 172). Correspondingly, the young people went into their tribal lands to commune with their ancestors. The Anishinaabe participants gave food offerings and prayed for their ancestors (pp. 160-162). This is similar to the work of Anishinaabe scholar Anderson (2011) that researched womanhood with 14 Anishinaabe elders. She found that attending to all one's relations including "demonstration of care for all life forms" including frequently giving food offerings to ancestors (Anderson, 2011, p. 39) .

In addition to differing ontologies, the ICF could also be criticised for lacking thorough engagement with the interplay of disability and colonisation (J. A. King et al., 2014). This intersection is investigated below.

Disability and colonialism

The Northern disability discourse has been criticised for imposing colonial normativity, while strongly contesting the normativity of non-disabled bodies (J. A. King et al., 2014). Disability scholars like Davis (2016), note that people of colour are included often without considering race in a substantive manner because the field is "entrenched in whiteness" since the majority of the scholars are white researchers in Northern contexts (p. 406). Davis' claim of whiteness could be evidenced by Northern disability models failing to engage deeply with colonisation (Hollinsworth, 2013). Disability scholar Nguyen (2018) said that disability studies is premised on:

> Assuming that there is *a* history out there, and that this history has had no direct relationship with the global distribution of poverty and exclusion of the disabled…which fails to acknowledge the impact of colonialism…in shaping the experiences of millions of disabled people" (italics in original text, p.12)

A cursory consideration of colonialism including settler colonialism could obscure ongoing structural factors that seem to mediate the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples with disabilities. Salmon's (2004) research of Canadian Indigenous mothers with children that had FAS/D, noted that Northern disability theories "eclipse the structural considerations" focusing

instead on "individual behavioural choices" (p.118) which leads to pathologising the individual mothers without considering the influences of settler colonialism. However, the Anishinaabe participants in my research explicitly mentioned how their imbalances rooted in settler colonialism. Similarly, King, Brough, and Knox's (2014) ethnographic research involving Indigenous Australians with disabilities found that ongoing experiences of settler colonialism pervaded all aspects of their lives and impacted their disabilities. This research involved mainly adults with type 2 diabetes concluding that "colonization [*sic*] cannot be neatly separated from disability" because the "historical connection of imposing, unhealthy western food and living practices as well as contemporary social and economic inequalities faced by Indigenous Australians" creates disabilities (J. A. King et al., 2014, pp. 740–741). Many Indigenous peoples with disabilities live within ongoing settler oppression that directly relates to disability causation.

Settler colonialism seemed to relate to my participants' imbalances with regards to the lack of basic needs and lack of disability services within reserves. These themes are subsequently explored.

Lack of basic needs

It has been argued that colonisation is at the crux of the disablement of Indigenous people around the world (Hollinsworth, 2013; J. A. King et al., 2014; Meekosha, 2011). Yet, the key role of the State in the creation of disability remains largely ignored by the North's disability discourse. Settler countries challenge the assumption of Northern disability theories that often view the State as a source of assistance. For Indigenous peoples, the State has been, and continues to be an oppressive force (Hollinsworth, 2013). Disabilities caused by war, toxic waste, conflict over resources, unsafe working conditions, and the effects of chronic poverty have direct links to colonisation and need to be considered within disability scholarship (Chouinard, 2015; Meekosha, 2011).

In my research, the State plays a role in creating disabilities through the lack of accessibility to basic needs within many reserves (pp. 11-13). The reserves involved in my research lacked access to clean water, plumbing, and consistent electricity. Cedar took a photo called "Fighting with poverty" (Figure 4.14) which involved talking about the "bad living conditions my friend suffers" which included, mould, no heating, lack of clean water, and overcrowded spaces (p. 112). Darryl, an elder, linked the lack of housing to causing imbalances, as overcrowded houses cause heightened rates of tuberculosis and hepatitis A in Anishinaabe communities. Each of the elders interviewed had previously had tuberculosis. Alice, an elder, noted that having tuberculosis weakened one's immune system for the

remainder of their life. Darryl, also an elder, explained that within residential schooling, there were frequent outbreaks of tuberculosis and blastomycosis[145] that caused deaths and life-long imbalances in survivors.

Poor living conditions within Indigenous communities globally has been linked to increased risks of blindness, hearing loss, leprosy, and tuberculosis at higher rates than settler communities (Hollinsworth, 2013; Salmon, 2004; UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2013). As previously outlined, there is limited statistical information specific to Anishinaabe reserves within my research region (p. 17). However, on a national level, there is evidence that the health status of Indigenous peoples living in reserves is poorer than the settler population (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2005; Health Canada, 2018). For example, 62% of Indigenous adults reported having at least one chronic illness compared to 48% within the settler population (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2012). For settlers 15% reported having mould in their homes, whereas about 50% of Indigenous adults reported mould of which, 44% reported having asthma and 52% reported having chronic bronchitis (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2012).

Lack of access to clean water because of settler pollution was discussed by the young people as causing imbalances (p. 159). Jade and Cedar spoke at length during their interviews about mercury poisoning resulting from settler paper industries. Iris' photo presented in Figure 5.10 (p. 160) depicts how her father's home community lacks access to clean water the past 40 years. Speaking of this photo, she explained that using the contaminated water caused birth defects in babies, skin conditions, and brain damage. Barbra, an elder, explained mercury contamination in her community's water causes "high rates of cancer, seizures, memory issues, and blindness."

Tauli-Corpuz (2016), the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, noted that tensions between the UNCRPD and Indigenous peoples stem from the North's lack of engagement with disability prevention, preferring instead to promote positive disability identities by conceptualising disability as a natural occurring. The UNCRPD claims that disability prevention can "perpetuate negative, discriminatory and harmful stereotypes about disability" (UN General Assembly, 2006, para. 15). The link between disability and poverty has been widely acknowledged (Singal, 2017). However, this literature regularly fails to forefront colonial structures as generating disparities globally. This, in turn, could be considered a tactic that ignores settler culpability and reinforces settler privilege. The ICF's personal factors category relies on the researcher's ability to contextualise. As such, settler

[145] Blastomycosis is an infection of mainly the lungs caused by a fungus. This can result in severe disease and even death, especially in children.

colonial power in the production of disparities that influence disability could remain unrealised or discounted by individual researchers (Chouinard, 2015). The ICF has been criticised for the lack of considering colonial practices that create disabilities (Chouinard, 2015). Indeed, SDT promotes centring the South because the North's disability scholarship is commonly "theoretically ill-equipped to deal with the majority world views and the nuances of majority world contexts" (Grech, 2011, p. 69).

Indigenous peoples have disabilities resulting from settler oppression (Meekosha & Soldatic, 2011). The impact of preventable disabilities from environmental pollution, maternal health, substance abuse, and overall poorer living conditions necessitates that colonialism be accounted for within disability theory (Hollinsworth, 2013). Considering colonisation alongside disability includes considering access to social services for marginalised groups such as Indigenous peoples.

Lack of disability services

Throughout the interviews, elders said reserves lacked services for community members, especially those with imbalances. They specifically mentioned limited medical facilities, lack of specialists, and inaccessible buildings. This means that families with members who have imbalances have to choose between relocating to settler towns, placing their child in foster care, or institutionalising their child in settler facilities. After being diagnosed with type 1 diabetes, Iris said, "everyone assumed I'd go into foster care [*in Riverside*] so I'd have good healthcare and schools." Iris explained "even just getting my medicine" was difficult in her reserve. Her dad said, "keeping her on the reserve makes life harder but I want her to stay with her people." Similarly, Jane, an elder, spoke of her niece who was "unable to see since birth" which caused the child to be institutionalised. Jane said:

> At home, in our community, they had nothing for her [*Jane's niece*] to do. My sister couldn't get any help in the reserve from the nurses or school. So they—the government people—came and sent my niece to a special school in Toronto. But my sister didn't want her to go. Now she [*Jane's niece*] is able to do her own thing. But she never comes home. She lives in Toronto still.

Barbra, an elder, pointed out that "there weren't any people in wheelchairs" in her isolated island reserve "since there are no accessible buildings or paved roads or sidewalks." She said people with mobility issues moved into settler towns. This displacement of people with certain imbalances from reserves could have influenced the types of imbalances represented within SLSS. Moreover, the tendency to remove children with imbalances from reserves might explain the absence of Indigenous-designed special education programming in federal schools in Ontario.

The removal of Indigenous peoples from their reserves is well documented. As noted by the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues (2013), the global displacement of Indigenous peoples from their communities continues because of a lack of disability services. It went on to say that Indigenous people with disabilities face systemic discrimination in availability and quality of services, when compared to settlers with disabilities. Within Canada, Phillips (2010b), currently the sole academic to examine special education in federal schooling, noted that these schools were usually not accessible to people with mobility issues, and that they had limited access to disability-related professionals like speech-language pathologists. Instead of investing in special education within federal schools, the displacement of Indigenous children with disabilities from their reserves continues, seemingly justified by better care being available in settler towns (Phillips, 2010a; Stienstra, 2015, 2018). This displacement could be seen as reminiscent of settler paternalism that underpinned residential schooling.

Leaving reserves to access services in settler towns is problematic because, as various scholars suggest, Indigenous conceptions of disability usually involve participation in the community (Bevan-Brown, 2013; Stienstra, 2015; Stienstra et al., 2018). These ideas were previously overviewed in chapter 2 (p. 30). The elders involved in my research noted that participating in reserve events and having communal responsibilities was essential to balancing the medicine wheel. The displacement of people with disabilities from reserves undermines community support for those individuals, and could be seen to exacerbate disabilities by disrupting the individuals' ability to participate in community life.

The cursory attention to spirituality and colonialism sometimes afforded within the Northern disability discourse seems to coalesce within notions of historical trauma which is explored next.

Historical trauma

Ongoing trauma from attempted assimilation, displacement, physical and sexual abuse, unresolved grief, the forcible removal of children from communities, the destruction of Anishinaabe lands, and widespread institutionalisation in residential schooling, reverberated throughout my interviews with the young people, their family members, and elders. Cree academic, Hart (2002) explained that colonisation, specifically residential schooling, damaged each quadrant of the medicine wheel on both the community and individual levels. The removal of children from reserves abruptly severed the traditional passing down of knowledge, including tribal languages, histories, and spiritual ceremonies. Alice, an elder, explained that "a lot of Native people have a lot of despair and it has just went on from

generation to generation and there's no real healing." Sam, Sage's family member, said that residential schooling is "like the evil no one talks about and there is still a lot of healing going on. We can't just bury it and forget about it." Seeing the world through the interrelatedness of the medicine wheel, means "you understand your participation to be in ever-repeating cycles, not finite and linear time spans" (Ross, 2014, p. 48). As such, the concept of interconnectedness could create a belief system that aligns with the idea of intergenerational transfer of historical trauma.

When discussing imbalances, the Anishinaabe participants often referred to historical and ongoing settler oppression. The literature concerning Indigenous peoples, this idea of seeing imbalances as stemming from colonialism could be considered articulations of historical trauma (Grayshield, Rutherford, Salazar, & Mihecoby, 2015). The elders interviewed used terms like "trauma" and "intergenerational trauma" when discussing the conditions within their reserves, which seems to demonstrate the widespread understanding of this idea. Although the young people did not use the term trauma, they explained how past settler injustices created imbalances (p. 156). Similarly, King's et. al (2014) ethnographic research involving Australian Indigenous peoples with disabilities found that the participants discussed their disabilities in correlation with settler colonisation.

Given the lack of substantial engagement with spirituality and colonisation in the Northern disability discourse, it seems unsurprising that historical trauma is rarely mentioned. Alison Nelson (2009), an occupational therapist whose work concerning holistic understandings of Australian Indigenous health mentioned that settler colonisation "has a profound impact on the…wellbeing of Indigenous peoples today" especially "for those with disabilities" (p. 98). Some scholars note that considering disability from an Indigenous standpoint necessitates engagement with historical trauma (Nelson, 2009; Salmon, 2004; Soldatic & Grech, 2014).

In chapter 5, the young people described their imbalances, and went on to contextualise their imbalances as often deriving, at least partly, from systemic oppression including pollution, addiction, abuse, bereavement, and parental neglect, which seemed to be linked to settler colonisation (pp. 156-160). There is a copious amount of historical trauma literature that correlates with many of the challenges my Anishinaabe participants discussed (Bombay et al., 2014; Duran & Duran, 1995; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Grayshield et al., 2015; Hartmann & Gone, 2014; Weaver & Heartz, 1999; Whitbeck et al., 2004). I am going to focus on substance addiction and parental neglect, because these topics were frequently described by the young people as linked to settler colonialism (pp. 156, 159).

Substance addiction

All of the young people self-identified as addicts (p.150). Historical trauma literature considers the high prevalence of substance addiction within Indigenous communities as a symptom of historical trauma (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Lawrence, 2012; Whitbeck et al., 2004). When the young people discussed their substance addictions, settler colonisation was deemed a cause. For example, Raven said, "my great-grandma and grandma are alcoholics because of being in residential schools." This led "drinking to just become part" of Raven's home life. Although she saw this cycle as destructive, Raven said, "I understand that substances give them a break from sadness."

None of my young people reported using substances to have fun, or to socialise with their peers. Jade said, "I use drugs because I'm hooked to the happiness of just being numb to the problems in my life and in my reserve." Family members and elders discussed the connection between addiction and settler oppression. Darryl, an elder, explained that he "turned to drinking all the time because I have bad memories of residential schooling." Sam, Sage's family member, explained that in her reserve, she said, "almost everyone has an addiction to drugs or alcohol because of residential schooling."

Oftentimes substance abuse is considered a symptom of historical trauma (Brave Heart, 2003), however, addiction is also considered a source of ongoing historical trauma (Duran & Duran, 1995). Walters, Simoni, and Evans-Campbell's (2002) research concerning the causes for addiction within Alaskan Indigenous communities found that "colonized [*sic*] status and associated environmental, institutional, and interpersonal sources of discrimination and stress" led to substance abuse (p. 105). Likewise, longitudinal research involving 143 American Indigenous adults showed high rates of alcoholism as a cause for historical trauma (Whitbeck et al., 2004). The young people considered living in reserves with high rates of addiction as a source of ongoing trauma and a symptom of historical trauma.[146] Take for instance, Iris' comment that "white people brought alcohol and drugs to our reserves in the first place and now we [*First Nations people living in reserves*] struggle to cope so everyone turns to those substances."

[146] Historical trauma is widely criticised for the lack of distinction between causes of trauma and contemporary impacts of past traumas. For example, the current socioeconomic deprivation in most Indigenous communities alongside institutional discrimination could be the root of feelings of trauma and grief (Waldram, 2004, 2014; Whitbeck, Adams, & Hoyt, 2004). Therefore, the contemporary feelings of trauma may be attributed to historical causes, but current economic disadvantage might be the foundational cause of the trauma. However, in the case of this research, ascertaining this distinction is less relevant because the Anishinaabe participants saw both current and past settler injustices as impacting their lives.

Parental Neglect

The young people considered their deceased relatives to be a major source of support (p. 160). However, their living relatives, such as parents, seemed less influential because they were often struggling with substance addictions themselves (pp. 159-159). Each of the young people had spent time in foster care as a result of parental neglect. Historical trauma literature includes elevated rates of children being placed in foster care (Bombay et al., 2014; Grayshield et al., 2015). The young people saw their parents' neglectful behaviours as caused by settler colonial oppression. For instance, Amelia, Cedar, Raven, and Jade said that residential schooling was the underlying cause for their parents' neglectful behaviours (p. 159). Cedar and Amelia felt that their parents lacked the necessary child-rearing skills after the trauma of residential schooling, and this caused them to neglect their children. Similarly, Dean, an elder, said that residential schools caused "parenting skills and family relationships to be lost." Brave Heart and DeBruyn's (1998) seminal research concerning Lakota people and historical trauma found that residential schooling caused the loss of "traditional parenting styles" to be replaced with "harsh physical punishment, emotional abandonment, lack of parental involvement and insensitivity to children's needs" (p.70).

Applying historical trauma in my research seems to correlate with how my Anishinaabe participants often contextualised their imbalances. Simultaneously, Anishinaabe spiritual beliefs could equally explain my Anishinaabe participants' tendency to explain their imbalances within a larger context. Interrelatedness challenges Northern notions of past/present, life/death, and human/land which could make past and ongoing settler oppression abundantly relevant. Within the historical trauma discourse, Indigenous families, reserves, and cultures are frequently positioned as transmitting historical trauma (Bombay et al., 2014). Within this discourse, Northern "understandings of function and dysfunction in selfhood, family and social relations, and children rearing" are imposed on reserves (Maxwell, 2014, p. 409). Therefore, some scholars caution that historical trauma is another reiteration of settlers' pathologising, stigmatising, and stereotyping Indigenous peoples and reserves as dysfunctional (Gone, 2014; Maxwell, 2014; Waldram, 2004).

The historical trauma discourse applied to my research seems to obscure how my Anishinaabe participants continue to find meaning in life despite ongoing oppression (Goforth, 2007). It seems this weakness in the historical trauma discourse could bias research into casting reserves as living in a state of widespread hopelessness and dysfunction as "victims, passively accepting their fate as colonized [*sic*] beings" (Waldram, 2004, p. 227). Applying historical trauma could shroud the strength, courage, and resiliency in reserves, and

my Anishinaabe participants undercutting the progress of Indigenous social justice and veiling continued settler oppression.

As such, my research recognises historical trauma as a crucial element in the young peoples' lives. However, the remainder of this chapter seeks to examine how the young people and their reserves face difficulties whilst "doing justice to their strength and resilience" (Goforth, 2007, p. 17). As such, the subsequent section concerns Anishinaabe healing seen at SLSS.

Healing in school

Within the literature, Indigenous healing is described as any act of decolonisation through the awakening and renewing of Indigenous spiritual beliefs (Radu, House, & Pashagumskum, 2014). Various scholars consider healing to be a process of cultural reclamation (Gone, 2014; Waldram, 2004), redress for cultural loss (Radu et al., 2014), or recuperation (Fonda, 2016). The creation of SLSS as a school that centres Anishinaabe worldviews is an act of healing. The Indigenous healing movement across Canada seeks to retrieve lost cultural teachings, primarily within federal schools (Assembly of First Nations, 1994). As discussed within chapter 6, the founding purposes for SLSS included increasing employability, cultural revitalisation, promoting healthy lifestyles, decolonisation, providing a safe place, and enhancing student self-esteem (p. 169). Underlying these purposes is the idea that schooling has a transformative power for healing that brings about resiliency in the forms of cultural renewal, cultural revitalisation, and decolonisation.

Reserves are faced with the "dual role of looking to students for clues about the best ways to help them learn…while simultaneously searching the [*schooling*] system itself for modifications to allow more appropriate responses to the needs" of Indigenous students (Stairs, 1995, p. 147). Consequently, federal schools could be considered as holding a "unique place" in Canadian history and "in the history of education" (Battiste, 2013, p. viii) by addressing these dilemmas of decolonisation. The collision of the settler and Indigenous worlds can cause schooling to be a "bi-cultural enterprise" (Hampton, 1995, p. 8) by balancing between the often contradictory purposes of schooling for "cultural maintenance" or schooling for "economic advancement" (Stairs, 1995, p. 147). Federal schools face navigating cultural revitalisation alongside, "providing the skills and information necessary" within settler society" (Hampton, 1995, p. 15). This sense of navigating two worlds was widely discussed by the Anishinaabe participants, which seems to correspond with the "bi-cultural enterprise" purpose of Indigenous-controlled schooling (Hampton, 1995). Healing could be deemed engaging in the evolution of Anishinaabe culture in contemporary times, by

restoring Anishinaabe beliefs, while concurrently preparing the young people for economic engagement with the settler world.

Healing as promoting resiliency

"As long as the sun will shine and the waters run, that is to say forever." -a common Anishinaabe prayer

This prayer, frequently said at SLSS, could be considered an example of the connection between healing and resiliency. Iris' interpretation of this prayer was that "my people [*Indigenous/Anishinaabe peoples*] have always been here [*in North America*] and always will be here fighting to keep existing." During a casual conversation, documented in my fieldnote journal, Sage said this "prayer said every morning reminds me that since [*European*] contact my people [*Anishinaabe peoples*] struggle against everything to survive." She said pointing to herself and smiling brightly, "we're still here." Correspondingly, Johnson (1982), an Ojibway scholar, believes that Indigenous spirituality is the cornerstone of Indigenous resiliency despite centuries of settler colonialism.

The young peoples' reactions to historical oppression, such as residential schooling, suggests alignment with the concept of resilience. For example, Sage said, "hearing my elders' experiences of residential schooling make me feel sorry for them but proud too because we're still here. This makes me want to do something—like help everyone heal." The stories of residential schooling, environmental pollution, and government manipulation in treaty making seemed to empower the Anishinaabe participants to see the collective history of existing irrespective of tremendous opposition. Denham's (2008) ethnographic research involving a Northern Idaho Indigenous family found that stories of past trauma became sources of resiliency in facing current adversity. Correspondingly, Hampton (1995), a Chickasaw[147] educationalist, outlined that Indigenous-controlled education, like Canada's federal schooling, should involve recognising the "powerful pattern of life that lies hidden within personal and tribal suffering and oppression" because "suffering begets strength" (p. 35).

The resiliency of the reserves involved in my research was demonstrated by the creation of SLSS. HeavyRunner, a Blackfoot[148] educationalist, and Morris, an Anishinaabe educationalist (1997), discussed Indigenous resilience, saying:

[147] Chickasaw refers to an Indigenous tribe whose traditional territory was in the south-eastern Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, United States .

[148] Blackfoot refers to an Indigenous tribe whose traditional territory was in the plains of North America which is part of present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia in Canada. Within the United States, Blackfoot traditional lands are within present-day Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana.

> Resilience is a relatively new term, but it is a concept the predates the so called 'discovery' of our people. The elders teach us that our children are gifts from the Creator and it is the family, community, school, and tribe's responsibility to nurture, protect, and guide them. We have recognized [*sic*] how important it is for children to have people in their lives who nurture their spirit, stand by them, encourage and support them. This traditional process is what contemporary researchers, educators, and social service providers are now calling fostering resilience. Thus, resilience is not new to our people; it is a conception that has been taught for centuries. The word is new; the meaning is old (p.28).

Within my research region, reserves had been sending their students to provincial schools for secondary education for nearly 20 years, before the grand council enacted their right to self-governance over schooling and formed SLSS. In seeking to nurture, protect, and guide their children, the grand council responded to their students' high rates of failure in these institutions. SLSS was created as a healing site and it seemed to bolster the resiliency of the young people attending.

In this research, seeking balance in the medicine wheel after past injustices by engaging in healing practices, seemed to inspire resilience in the young people. Correspondingly, McCormick's (2009) research concerning Canadian Indigenous mental health found that healing led to resiliency by providing balance in the medicine wheel, connectedness with sources of meaning, cleansing through identifying one's emotions, empowerment to continue pursuing balance, and individual discipline. These were areas in which SLSS provided support to the young people which enabled healing.

Balance

Balancing of one's self within the quadrants of the medicine wheel was demonstrated by SLSS's rejection of Ontario's special education curricula. Nick, the head teacher, explained that SLSS's approach involved "seeing the entire person including seeing all the things they can do." Elsie, a teacher, explained that this approach meant "no one's needs are seen as negative because every student gets help."

The young people demonstrated agency in their responses to their imbalances, which could have implications for how disability is understood. By considering human agency alongside the lived experiences of disability, individuals may respond to "their circumstances and conditions" in "dynamic and unpredictable" ways that assert one's ability to "choose her life and more importantly perhaps a perspective on her life" beyond considering disability as a deficit (S. R. Smith, 2009, p. 25). The young people in this research framed their imbalances as part of human experience. This life-long pursuit of seeking balance seemed to transcend the notion of disability equating with tragedy. For the young people, imbalances often led to seeking healing through ceremonies that enriched their lives with valuable spiritual lessons,

comfort, peace, and connection. As such, their imbalances were "not straightforwardly deficient for reasons to do with the complex and paradoxical way human beings value their lives" (S. R. Smith, 2009, p. 26). This surpasses the assumption in the North's disability discourse of equating disability with limitations, suffering, and tragedy (Grech, 2015b).

Encouraging healing through balance seemed to increase the young people's self-esteem, which was also considered a purpose of schooling by all of my participants (p. 181). Indeed, Doug, an elder, believed that "increasing self-esteem was the most important thing" SLSS should do for their students. Within literature concerning the purposes of federal schools, encouraging student self-esteem is commonly included (Goulet & Goulet, 2014; National Indian Brotherhood, 1972; Stairs, 1995). The original document in Canada calling for Indigenous-control over Indigenous education believed schooling should instil "pride in one's self" that comes from "recognising and using talents" (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 10).

I was unable to find research that specifically considers how special education programming impacts the self-esteem of Indigenous students with disabilities. However, provincial schooling's negative influence on the self-esteem of Indigenous students generally has been studied (Battiste, 1998). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1997) did a six-year study of residential school impact on Indigenous students today. This report noted that rather than "nurturing the individual, the [*provincial*] schooling experience typically erodes identity and self-worth [*of Indigenous students*] who regularly encounter racism" including "the denial of Indigenous values, perspectives and cultures in the curriculum and the life of the institution" (p. 434). During their time in provincial schools, each of the young people encountered racism (pp. 169-171). Cedar said while attending provincial school "I thought I was just another bum Indian—too stupid to finish high school." However, after a term at SLSS, Cedar reported "feeling able to do a lot of stuff and my teachers say I am able to graduate."

Connectedness

Indigenous ceremonies serve to make relationships closer (Anderson, 2011; S. Wilson, 2008). At SLSS, healing seemed to nurture connectedness. By including Anishinaabe ceremonies at SLSS, the young people became exposed to Anishinaabe practices, which encouraged positive notions about being Anishinaabe. For example, Each of the students commented on feeling "calm" because of the daily smudges at school (see p. 160-162). The sharing of intergenerational knowledge, significant in Anishinaabe culture, was nearly eradicated during the era of residential schooling (Battiste, 2013). In attempting to heal from

residential schooling, federal schools often attempt to "overcome colonial relations that separated" reserves and parents "from schools" (Goulet & Goulet, 2014, p. 210).

The participants strongly believed that SLSS should serve the purpose of cultural revitalisation (p. 174-175), and their attempts in this regard seemed to help the young people. Amelia said SLSS provides "me with teachings about being Anishinaabe and since my grandma passed, there isn't anyone to teach me at home." Darryl, an elder, said, "our school [*SLSS*] should teach our language and rediscover and redevelop cultural teachings."

SLSS's inclusion of Anishinaabe ceremonies seemed to decolonise school practices like classroom management, by employing the free movement policy (pp. 177-178). Notions of punishment enforced by adults are widely considered culturally inappropriate within Anishinaabe communities (Anderson, 2011; Ross, 1992). Rupert Ross (2014), whose work involves Anishinaabe beliefs related to justice, observed that Anishinaabe communities normally use non-interference parenting styles that promote the autonomy of youth to learn through the natural consequences. SLSS's free movement policy of classroom management is similar to notions of non-interference whereby students have autonomy.

SLSS uses independent study courses which include Anishinaabe content, but the lack of classroom teaching or interaction does not align with the literature concerning decolonising pedagogy (Stairs, 1995). Various scholars discuss how Indigenous students often benefit from holistic pedagogies like cooperative learning (Pewewardy, 2002), experimental learning (Ryan, 1992), and project-based learning (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2002). These pedagogies seem to align with *nii'kinaaganaa* (all one's relations). The teachers at SLSS believed that the use of independent study courses needed to change. Elsie, a teacher, said "in time we [*SLSS*] plan to implement the locally developed curriculum into a more project-based learning classroom because that's more culturally appropriate for our students." Likewise, Nick pointed out that "whenever possible we [*SLSS*] supplement the independent courses with projects or outside activities."

Cleansing

Cleansing, another aspect of Indigenous healing, defined as "identifying and expressing emotions in a good way" (McCormick, 2009, p. 3) was demonstrated within SLSS. As discussed in detail, the young people participated in ceremonies like sweats that helped them to feel cleansed (p. 160-162). The young people spoke extensively about how the school's daily smudge helped them feel cleansed.

Substance abuse seemed particularly significant to healing because sobriety is a prerequisite for participating in Anishinaabe ceremonies (p. 141). SLSS encouraged the students to seek help for their addictions and even facilitated the continuation of school within

treatment facilities. The school also created a supportive environment for the young people dealing with addictions. If they came to school inebriated or high, they were encouraged to sit in a quiet, unused classroom, until the effects of the substances wore off (p. 141). The young people felt supported by this response. Cedar talked about coming to SLSS "high and drunk, but my teachers believe I will slowly break my addictions and they never kick me out of school." SLSS's response to addiction seems to align with the literature concerning Indigenous education. Regnier's (1995) case study of a federal secondary school in Saskatchewan, Canada, noted that "addressing the real lives of the students including addiction" was one of the "root determinants of learning" (p. 319). The study concluded that a "healing education" that is "committed to restoring wholeness in each student takes up the extremes of [*substance*] abuse as a central determinant of educational possibility" (p. 320).

Discipline

Discipline, as part of Indigenous healing, refers to accepting responsibility for one's actions (McCormick, 2009). This understanding of discipline seems rooted in the spiritual belief of interrelatedness, in which individuals are connected and accountable to all their relations. Within Indigenous literature, learning is often considered strengthening relationships with peers, teachers, and knowledge (Battiste, 2010). In SLSS, encouraging discipline meant being responsible for one's relations. Cedar said that at SLSS "I have friends for the first time at school since the teachers made us work things [*disagreements*] out." Jade believed that SLSS "taught me how to be a friend, and now I have real friends for the first time ever." The students were responsible for their relationships as illustrated by the school's talking circles to resolve conflicts. My fieldnote journal recorded that after Iris destroyed the class tree violently, Elsie invited the class to a talking circle to "resolve the anger everyone felt" because of the incident. During this talking circle, Iris heard how her behaviour impacted her peers.

Discipline was also promoted in the way teachers helped the students resolve conflicts (pp. 182-183). Teachers at SLSS helped Jade "realise I can control my anger issues and that's great." Cree educational researchers Goulet and Goulet (2014) completed a study of teachers working with Cree students, and found that helping students communicate "difficult emotions" led to "stronger relationships between teachers and Cree students" (p. 204). These stronger relationships seemed to increase student wellbeing.

Empowerment

Healing often leads to empowerment which involves maintaining "mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual strength" (McCormick, 2009, p. 5). This understanding of

empowerment could be linked to the teaching of bravery, which the young people described as "walking in two worlds" (pp. 139-142). Trying to balance Anishinaabe cultural revitalisation whilst acquiring knowledge needed to navigate within the settler world, could be considered empowerment. Indigenous schooling is a complex place which tackles the "contradictions besetting Aboriginal consciousness within Canada" and could be considered "walking in two worlds" (Battiste, 2013, p. vii). Darren, the principal, said "the real purpose [*of SLSS*] is to create Anishinaabe students that can face the modern world." The challenges of navigating these often contradictory paths was the subject of much discussion for the participants.

Discussions concerning the purposes of SLSS exposed the contradictory nature of these goals. Miigwan, Iris' father, said that SLSS was "getting Anishinaabe students the ticket [*a high school diploma*] needed to have a real job" in a settler town. This was reiterated by the teachers, elders, and young people (pp. 173-173). This focus on federal schooling leading to "making a living in modern society" is also a major theme in the literature concerning Indigenous education (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 10). Indeed, federal schooling is considered by the Assembly of First Nations, a national body of chiefs, to create economic stability for reserves by graduating students qualified to enter the settler workforce (S. Atleo, 2012).

SLSS has been accredited by the Ontario government, which means that graduating students would earn a high school diploma. However, the teachers and students questioned the transferability of their schooling into the settler context. Phyllis, the Anishinaabe teacher, worried that SLSS "is babying the students which could mean they won't be unable to deal with the realities of the real [*settler*] world." To Phyllis, these realities including enforced due dates, strict break times, and structured assignments. Cedar wondered if he would "be able to make it in the real world after graduating [*from SLSS*] since the school is more the Anishinaabe world than the white world." Literature concerning Indigenous education shows that Indigenous parents often "fear that children being taught Native ways in school will not acquire mainstream [*settler*] ways, and so will not be able to cope in either world" (Stairs, 1995, p. 149).

Nick, a teacher, thought SLSS was "preparing students to get minimum wages jobs or maybe go into a trade." He added, "I can't imagine one of my students [*at SLSS*] even getting into college or university." Elsie, a teacher, pointed out the SLSS does not "offer the level of courses needed to go to college or university." The only non-Indigenous participants in my research were Elsie and Nick, both believed that SLSS was not preparing students for a wide array of postsecondary options, though the young people and family members expressed

aspirations that required higher education, and often, university. By limiting the courses available, it could be argued that SLSS is not fulfilling the "bicultural enterprise" often considered central to federal schooling (Hampton, 1995, p. 8). Anishinaabe educationalist, McPherson (2011), calls on reserves to "consider if we [*Anishinaabe peoples*] cannot educate our own children to know the world in which they live, while maintaining our Native values, then the question that must be asked is why does all of this [*federal schooling*] matter?" (McPherson, 2011, p. 165).

It is widely felt that federal schooling needs to provide "those things needed in both white and Native worlds" (Hampton, 1995, p. 7). However, the difficulty in implementing these often contradictory purposes of schooling remains largely unexamined in literature. SLSS's approach to disability, aligns with Anishinaabe beliefs, and could be an example of Anishinaabe cultural revitalisation; but it may simultaneously limit the students' transferability to settler society. Without formal diagnoses and documentation, SLSS students are not legally ensured disability accommodations in settler institutions like higher education or the criminal justice system. It could be argued that if an SLSS student sought to pursue goals like university or college, they would engage in the settler procedures at that point. Currently, an understanding of settler systems like disability diagnosis procedures, Canadian disability tax credits, or disability rights is absent from SLSS's programme. As such, it could be argued that in regards to disability, the young people and family members are not provided with the learning and skills to navigate within the two worlds.

Conclusion

Federal schooling exposes the complexity and contradictions of Indigenous self-determination, identity, cultural renewal, and modernisation besieging reserves. SLSS seems to be a site for healing for the young people, which in turn promotes resilience by teaching connectedness, cleansing, discipline, and empowerment. Given the young peoples' oft-expressed fears about navigating between "two worlds", it suggests that SLSS healing might be lacking the empowerment component. It could be argued that this question of navigating "two worlds" besets Canada as a looming expression of settler dominance (Regan, 2010).

Currently, within federal schools across Canada, differing languages, ontologies, cultures, understandings of relationships, modes of communication, and purposes for schooling interact daily (Battiste, 2013), and they lie at the heart of Indigenous-settler relations. If federal schooling is, as the Mi'kmaq educationalist, Battiste (2013) says, "a process by which culture expresses its reality and values, processes its culture, and integrates its culture into it" (p.162), then the task confronting reserves is to implement schooling that "demands more than 'learning about each other's cultures'" but produces "graduates… must

not only survive in a white-dominated society, they must contribute to the change of that society" (Hampton, 1995, p. 41). As such, federal schools including SLSS have a crucial role to play in decolonising settler society. For the young people, this decolonisation could be seen as "soaring like an eagle" on the lifelong journey of seeking balance.

Chapter 8 Being heard and seeking healing

The young people in this research proved to be unique case studies through which to explore conceptions of Anishinaabe disability. Given SLSS's decolonising stance of rejecting provincial special education programming and formalised disability labels, I researched young people with previous experience, within two years of my fieldwork, in provincial special education. It is worth mentioning that the demarcation between disability and special education commonly found in the Northern disability discourse seemed irrelevant (pp. 13-14). Within the provincial system, special education and disability are often used interchangeably within professional medical and educational settings (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2002).

All of SLSS's students had previously accessed provincial special education, meaning they were aware that Anishinaabe and settler views of disability usually differed and had experience living within the dissonance of these conceptions. The young peoples' previous experiences with special education in provincial schools, and SLSS's reimagined programming, seemed to influence the way in which the young people made sense of their lived experiences. Conducting research within this site provided an unprecedented glimpse into culturally-responsive special education programming.

The medicine wheel's teachings of interrelatedness, enacted through the SGT formed a knowledge system, and though I'd grown up hearing about them, the holistic ontology represented by their teachings remained indiscernible to me until this research began. The young people used it to explain how they viewed themselves and the larger world. The medicine wheel teachings, as seen in Figure 5.2 (p. 148), explains relationships between many aspects of existence including the four cardinal directions, the time of day, seasons, sacred medicines, and aspects of wellness. Within this dissertation, I consider the medicine wheel's teachings as related to disability. The young people conceptualised disability within the medicine wheel, as meaning an imbalance in wellness (p. 147).

In this final chapter, I outline the key findings of my research from chapters 4-6. These key findings address the research questions posed in chapter 1 (p. 2). Implications and recommendations concerning the development of culturally-responsive school programming are outlined. Next, my potential contributions to theory, Anishinaabe communities, scholarship, school policy, international education policy, teachers, and the young people are examined. The limitations of this research are then considered. Directly referring to my first

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research question, next I address the young peoples' conceptions of disability, purposes of schooling, and aspirations.

Research question 1

> What are the views and perceptions of Anishinaabe young people with previous experience in formalised special education concerning disability, the purposes of schooling, and their aspirations?

Conceptions of disability

Related to chapter 5, Instead of saying disability or special education, the young people preferred to say imbalance. The North's disability discourse often excludes substance addictions, mental health, and historical trauma. However, the young people included these areas as imbalances in the medicine wheel. Likewise, SLSS's programming addressed these imbalances which are outside of the remit of Ontario's provincial special education programming.

The young people considered imbalances to be contextual and in flux, involving many layers of interacting relationships. As taught by the medicine wheel, they did not frame an imbalance as suffering or as a straightforward deficit which allowed for new insights concerning the lived realities of individuals with disabilities. I say this while in no way diminishing the hardships associated with imbalances, and the struggles faced by the young people. For example, Cedar's descriptions of his struggle with addiction showed that the difficulty of this imbalance was recognised while he considered imbalances as an essential part of human existence. The lived experiences of having a disability can transcend limitations, pain, and suffering. For the young people, the quest for balance in the medicine wheel formed the purpose of existence, leading to a fulfilled life. The young people responded to their imbalances by seeking healing which enriched their lives.

Seeking healing as a way of balancing the medicine wheel often includes participating in spiritual ceremonies (pp. 160-162). Conceptions of disability were interrelated with healing and spirituality, illustrating the complexity of viewing disability as within the medicine wheel. Ceremonies such as smudging and giving offerings to one's ancestors were considered acts of healing.

As presented in chapter 6, responding appropriately to the young peoples' imbalances was not considered a separate programme within SLSS; instead, it was embedded within the ethos and purposes of the school examined below.

Purposes of schooling

Given the lives of the young people, filled with ongoing discrepancies and injustices, seeking balance in all of their relations was considered the primary purpose for schooling. Within this context, settler colonialism is an ongoing structure that permeates all aspects of the young peoples' lives. Reconciliation for colonial injustices like residential schoolings remains largely unrealised. Indeed, the lasting impact of residential schooling on their own lives was discussed by the young people. For instance, when talking about their relatives' experiences of residential schooling, the young people often added personal experiences of oppression in schooling as part of the same trajectory of settler oppression mobilised in schooling (p.169). The young people saw SLSS as a chance to create schooling that embraced Indigeneity, and which could provide healing to the students and the community (p. 208). SLSS was a place of rejuvenation for Anishinaabe knowledge lost because of settler oppression (pp.174-174). For example, hosting the powwow at SLSS provided residential school survivors with the opportunity to feel comfortable within a school (p. 90) and as such, demonstrated how schooling can assist in overcoming settler oppression.

Aspirations

The young people aspired to heal themselves and their communities. Amelia and Raven's desire to be social workers was premised on helping children from their reserves (pp. 102, 104). Jade's desire to be a welder was so he could address the housing shortages within his reserve (p. 104). Sage wanted to be a police officer to help reduce the discrimination faced by Anishinaabe people within the criminal justice system (p. 107). Their aspirations were inextricably linked to helping their reserves. Working and living within their reserves would, as Iris explained, "help the community to get stronger" (p. 106).

The young peoples' career and educational aspirations were premised on assisting their communities, while their wellness goals also aimed to bring balance to the medicine wheel on the community level. Since sobriety was necessary to participating in ceremonies (see p. 161), the young people thought that overcoming addiction would enhance their ability to maintain relationships with their ancestors. They believed that addressing addiction would assist in bringing balance to their reserves.

None of the literature prepared me for these findings concerning the young people's conceptions of disability, purposes of schooling, and aspirations. Various researchers discussed disability conceptions among Indigenous groups (Ariotti, 1999; Hollinsworth, 2013; Soldatic & Gilroy, 2018; Stienstra, Baikie, & Manning, 2018). The literature showed

that differences between Indigenous and settler conceptions of disability often stem from Indigenous cultures having relational ontologies that usually result in communal practices of health, wellbeing, and care for each other (Soldatic & Gilroy, 2018). Yet, several aspects remained unexplored within the literature, including: how to detect different conceptions of disability being expressed by participants; and how these differing conceptions interacted with educational settings. A thorough reading of literature (see chapter 2) coupled with my own experiences as a special education teacher and researcher, increased my awareness of the complexity of the nexus of disability and Indigeneity. The following excerpt from my reflection research journal, while I was coding, demonstrates this realisation:

> I can't seem to shake the idea that everything is about balancing one's relationships. It seems to all go back to the medicine wheel. As I look at the young people's photos alongside the interview data, I can see how the photos show their lives as part of this large system that's all connected. It's not that disability doesn't matter, it just seems to be another type of imbalance…the diversity of imbalances seems to be considered essential to the Anishinaabe way of seeing the world. Imbalances unite people in the mission of seeking balance instead of dividing people considered too different.

Research Question 2

How are these young people influenced by the perceptions of their family members, teachers, and elders concerning disability, the purposes of schooling, and aspirations?

Family members

The family members involved in the research used the framework of the medicine wheel to conceptualise disability. Blossom (Jade's grandmother), Miigwen (Iris' father), Kodack (Amelia's boyfriend), and Sam (Sage's cousin) each believed that disability was one aspect of self. The young people often saw birth parents as part of the cause for their own imbalances because of neglect, mental health, or addictions (p. 159). However, aligning with the Anishinaabe belief of *nii'kinaaganaa*, the young people framed settler colonialism, as creating high rates of poverty, suicide, and substance addiction (pp. 156-159).

The family members explained how provincial schools had failed to meet the needs of their young person, and these experiences seemed to bring more awareness of their young person's specific imbalances, and the potential ways SLSS could meet these needs. They avoided using settler labels to refer to the young person's imbalances, which were acknowledged, but were not considered exceptionable, since every community member was seeking balance.

The young peoples' views about the purposes of schooling seemed to be influenced by their family members. Amelia's late grandmother had completed secondary school at 60-years-old, which enhanced Amelia's belief in the importance of schooling. Family members who had not completed secondary school were often cited as examples of why schooling was necessary. Raven's family members motivated her to finish school so "I can prove them [*her family*] wrong."

Family members seemed to shape the young people's aspirations. Jade aspired to the same career paths as relatives. Deceased ancestors, especially grandparents, were cited as the reason the young people wanted to learn how to speak Anishinaabe. Sobriety aspirations were often expressed with reference to observing family members struggling with addictions.

Elders

The young people's perceptions of disability, purposes of schooling, and their aspirations seemed moulded, in part, by their community elders. SLSS was created by chiefs and elders from each of the Anishinaabe communities in the region (p. 171). It seemed that the young people were aware of SLSS's vision to enact Anishinaabe beliefs. SLSS's approach to addressing imbalances was described by Iris as the "Anishinaabe way of helping each other." It seems reasonable to believe that the community elders, especially those whom formed and oversee SLSS, reinforced Anishinaabe understandings of disability to the young people.

In parallel with promoting cultural revitalisation, the elders believed that SLSS should prepare the students for formalised employment in settler towns. This purpose of schooling could be considered as incongruous with cultural revitalisation, and this has given rise to the concept of "walking in two worlds" (pp.139-142, 173-174, 176, 213-215). Iris felt "pressure from my elders to still always be Anishinaabe and also make the community richer" by having a job in a settler town.

The elders' influence on the young people's aspirations is difficult to ascertain because the elders did not speak specifically about the aspirations for individual students. The promotion of cultural revitalisation along with gaining qualification for employment in settler towns was considered a broad aspiration that would benefit the entire reserve. While the elders discussed the fact that the young people may leave the reserve for higher education, or apprenticeships, they expected them to return, to contribute to the growth of their reserve. This expectation was acknowledged by each young person, suggesting the influence the elders had on their aspirations.

Teachers

The teachers' influence on the young peoples' perceptions of disability, purposes of schooling, and aspirations, came about in the strong relationships they built with each student. It helped them understand the learning needs of each young person, which likely helped the young people in articulating their own learning needs. The young people saw the teachers as sources of help and support. Imbalances were not disproportionately focused on, which reinforced the views of disability held by the elders and family members. The teachers' promotion of self-regulation techniques, like going for a walk after an outburst, seemed to influence the young peoples' responses to their imbalances (p. 183)

All of SLSS's teachers promoted spiritual practices such as smudging, drumming, powwows, and sweats. The teachers also seemed to influence the young peoples' perceptions of addiction. SLSS's response to addiction including allowing regular cigarette breaks and promoting a quiet room to wait for substance side effects to pass (see p.186). They resisted stigmatising addiction, and instead considered it another imbalance.

With regard to the purposes of schooling, the teachers considered secondary school completion as necessary to accessing the settler employment market. Although the young people expressed the aspiration to complete secondary school, they believed SLSS's purposes were many. As such, it seems that the teachers' perspectives of SLSS's purposes had limited impact on the students' perceptions. Whether or not they were aware of it, the young people felt the effects of SLSS's teachers' drive for rapid secondary school completion, which was expressed in the limited programming and course selection offered, because the school favoured speedy graduation (pp. 173, 222).

The teachers' aspirations for the young people corresponded with the purposes of SLSS. They hoped the students would graduate secondary school and enter the settler workforce. It is possible the students were unaware of the limited post-secondary aspirations their teachers had for them. The teachers did hold out hope that the young people would overcome their addictions, and each young person felt this encouragement. It is likely that the teachers' encouragement and responses to addictions influenced them.

My research seems to suggest the powerful role teachers can have in decolonising classrooms and schools. For non-Indigenous teachers employed in federal schools, the legacy of residential schooling could impact school-reserve interactions. Teacher self-reflections concerning their own racial stereotypes and complacency towards settler oppression, seems to be crucial to building trusting relationships with students, family members, and reserves.

Research Question 3:

How could the views of my participants concerning disability, purposes of schooling, and aspirations inform the development of culturally-responsive school programming?

As explained in chapter 6, SLSS was considered by my Anishinaabe participants as a site for healing from past and ongoing settler oppression. The medicine wheel's perspective of an interrelated world (or *nii'kinaaganaa*) makes it necessary to perpetually seek balance. SLSS's position as a site for healing by the young people, family members, and elders was central to their culturally-responsive programming.

The young people's powwow photovoice exhibit demonstrates the implementation of my participants' views on disability, the purposes of schooling, and aspirations into a culturally-responsive school programme. The central themes of the powwow photovoice event could therefore inform the development of culturally-responsive school programming more generally. I propose from my data that these central themes of a culturally-responsive school programme include, facilitating ceremonies, considering the significance of place, promoting community involvement, and promoting activism. The various implications of each of these themes, is explored on the international, federal, reserve, and local school levels.

Facilitating ceremonies

Conceptualising schools as sites for healing means that spirituality, notably in ceremony, could be essential to culturally-responsive school programming. For instance, the young people decided to include a powwow as part of the photovoice exhibit for the distinct purpose of balancing all of their relations also known as healing. Raven said, "our powwow was like a cherry on top of a really great sundae [*referring to the research project*] because it made me more connected to my culture." Raven said the powwow:

> Will always be a really spiritual memory for me. I can't really explain it, but I felt peace. I would rank that day as in the top ten most important days in my life.

Figure 8.1: Sage preparing the photos at the powwow exhibit.

The elders shared similar sentiments about the significance of ceremony. Barbra, an elder, said the powwow photovoice exhibit "surprised me because the feeling in the room was spiritual—like an outpouring of pride in our culture." My research shows that the significant role of ceremonies in schooling has wide-ranging implications for international, national, reserve, and school settings. Corresponding with these implications, Table 8.1. shows my recommendations concerning including ceremonies in the development of culturally-based school programming.

Emphasising spirituality and ceremony as significant to Indigenous peoples has a precedent in UN documents. For example, the UNDRIP, *Article 12*, declares that Indigenous peoples have the right to "practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies" (United Nations, 2011). However, there are tensions between the three human rights frameworks, the UNCRPD (2006), UNDRIP (2008), and SDG's (UN General Assembly, 2015) that concern Indigenous youth with disabilities. Take for instance, the UNCRPD's advocacy for the inclusion of people with disabilities into society, which usually leads to assimilatory special education programming premised on settler societal norms and knowledge systems (Tauli-Corpuz, 2016). The UNCRPD makes no reference to culture or implementation meaning the rights to teach Indigenous knowledges including spirituality could be threatened under this framework. Indeed the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues explicitly notes that Indigenous families are wary of school programming that imposes settler norms (Tauli-Corpuz, 2016).

The dualism between secular/spiritual often assumed in settler society is usually perpetuated within Canadian classrooms. As a result the TRC (2015c) calls on the federal government to preserve and promote spirituality within schooling. The TRC (2015c) called on INAC to "provide the necessary funding to post-secondary institutions to education teachers" about integrating Indigenous knowledges within classroom content and pedagogy practices (p.121). However, this integration must respect that Indigenous elders are the knowledge keepers through reserve community consultation.

As demonstrated in my research, federal schools seemed to be considered by reserves as a place where Indigenous spiritually is taught (pp. 182-183, 220-221).The promotion of cultural revitalisation through schools practicing ceremonies could cause some community members' spiritual practices to be ignored. Band councils should seek to represent the spiritual heterogeneity of their reserves within the school practices.

At the school level, the inclusion of ceremonies at SLSS seemed to demonstrate the Anishinaabe belief that all learning is spiritual. As shown in my research, the medicine wheel's quadrants are interrelated and healing came by participating in ceremonies (pp.144,

147, 208, 210). When considering special education, this form of strengthening was considered a necessary response to the young people's imbalances.

Table 8.1: Recommendations for promoting ceremonies to develop culturally-responsive school programming

International	Federal	Reserves	Schools
The UNCRPD should explicitly reject assimilationist programming by referencing the design and implementation of services like special education that uphold and promote cultural diversity.	Official certification and training for all federal school professionals concerning Indigenous knowledges, history, and pedagogy.	Band councils should make guidelines that oversee the ceremonies and spiritual teachings in schools.	School professionals need to consult with family members and elders concerning appropriate ways to support and/or include ceremonies into the classroom, especially in special education programming.
	Cultural training of federal school professionals that includes participating and/or observing spiritual practices within reserve communities.	Band councils should initiate dialogues with INAC concerning culturally-appropriate ways of integrating Indigenous spirituality, especially ceremony into teacher training and school practices.	
	INAC should work with local reserves to develop protocols for the appropriate inclusion of Indigenous knowledges in schools, specifically considering special education programming.		

Significance of place

As shown in the powwow photovoice exhibit, the young people wanted the location of this event to promote healing (p. 87). My fieldwork journal recorded a discussion I had with an elder who attended the event:

> Just a kilometre from this school stood a residential school that destroyed so many of us. But today, a powwow happened in a school, led by our youth! The injustices of our people that literally happened right here were being healed today.

Blossom, Jade's grandma and a residential school survivor, said "I never thought the day would come when a powwow happens in a school. I just feel so much hope for our people." This example shows the significance of place to culturally-responsive programming. Table 8.2 features my recommendations concerning how place relates to developing culturally-responsive school programming. There are specific implications and recommendations related to the significance of place that are explained below.

Figure 8.2: Jade, his grandma Blossom, and younger family members at the powwow

As previously discussed in chapter 7, there is a lack of services within reserves for people with disabilities (pp. 15, 34, 200, 203). The UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples (2016), believes that Indigenous people have the right to attend school in their community directly citing the spiritual significance of place to many Indigenous peoples. Lack of schooling within Indigenous communities could be deemed a violation of the UNRIP's (2011) *Article 14,* that declares the right to education without discrimination and the UNCRPD's (2006) *Article 24,* that establishes that people cannot be excluded from schooling on the basis of disability.

The significance of place, makes the relocation Indigenous communities contending with pollution challenging, to say the least. As previously mentioned, Anishinaabe communities in my research area are faced with mercury poisoned waterways that cause various disabilities (pp.38, 159). Currently, the UNDRIP's implementation documents recognise that environmental issues facing Indigenous peoples cause an increased rate of persons with

disabilities (Tauli-Corpuz, 2016). Yet, as discussed earlier, the UNCRPD is resistant to including disability prevention within their remit (pp.200-214).

On the federal level, INAC oversees the jurisdictional boundaries and funding allocations for Indigenous-controlled schools. The significance of place seems to remain ignored when INAC denies Indigenous communities from creating their own schools. This means that some Indigenous communities are forced to relocate school-aged children/or families into settler towns with educational provisions.

For reserve communities, the significance of place and schooling seems to be demonstrated by the continual calls of Indigenous leaders to build schools within reserve lands (Assembly of First Nations, 1994; Battiste, 2013). Some residential schools were located within reserves and many of these buildings remain intact. Band councils face decisions concerning how to heal the land. The heterogeneity of Indigenous spiritual beliefs regarding place means these decisions require profound community consultation.

Considering the significance of place within schools means recognising that settlers occupy Indigenous land throughout Canada. There are curricula and pedagogical implications for federal schools – such as discussing local, land-based cultural practices as a tangible part of place-based learning. As previously mentioned in regards to ceremonies, elders and community leaders should be consulted with regards to implementing land-based practices in classrooms. The history and legacies of residential schooling varies between reserves. The location of contemporary federal schools within reserves seems to be critical in healing from residential schooling.

Table 8.2: Recommendations for considering place in developing culturally-responsive school programming

International	Federal	Reserves	Schools
The UNRIP could expand its conception of disability justice to include disability prevention.	INAC should acknowledge that Indigenous knowledges are irrevocably linked to Indigenous lands and cease relocating students to settler towns for the purpose of accessing schooling.	Band councils should lobby for schooling to be located within their community for all students regardless of disabilities.	Gatherings at the school should formally acknowledge Indigenous existence on this land for time immortal.

The UNCRPD should consider the context and goals of disability rights in the global South by addressing disability prevention and condemning historical and ongoing settler colonialism that continues to cause disabilities.	INAC should allow for the intertribal collaboration of reserves to create schools that remain on Indigenous lands.	Band councils in small or isolated communities could consider coalitions with nearby reserves to regain governance over schooling within Indigenous lands.	All school professions should be taught about local residential school history and the significance of place in healing current schooling.
The UNCRPD should condemn the discrimination faced by students with disabilities that lack access to special education within their Indigenous community.	The federal government should affirm that the continuation of teaching and revitalising Indigenous knowledge requires protection of land, species, water, and ecosystems.	Band councils with remaining residential school buildings or sites should respond to the community's expectations regarding healing the land.	Localised land-based practices should be integrated across subject areas and within pedagogical practices.
			School grounds could feature the four sacred medicines and local vegetation, instead of assuming the settler tendency to have manicured grounds.

Community involvement

As shown by the powwow photovoice exhibit, culturally-responsive school programming involves traditional Indigenous ways of teaching by including elders and community members. The elders' guidance throughout the powwow photovoice exhibit created a space that facilitated intergenerational learning and healing. The young people wanted their communities to accept and learn from their photos. Raven explained that the "only culturally correct way for teenagers to teach elders is using a ceremony like a powwow." For example, Barbra, an elder, said:

> This powwow was really moving because they [*the young people*] are not elders but they want to share their knowledge. So they did it in a respectful way, you know, smudging, praying, dancing—That's actually a gift to the elders. And that's what I took from it [*the powwow*] I learned from our youth.

Similarly, Blossom, Jade's grandma, felt that by attending the powwow, the students taught her that it is "time to come out openly and talk about all the hurt and pain [*in Anishinaabe communities*] but not to dwell on it because the youth have hope—I saw it in the event. They are proud of being Anishinaabe." The powwow photovoice exhibit exposes that culturally-responsive school programming should include Indigenous communities. There are multiple implications for engaging in Indigenous community involvement at the international, national, reserve, and school levels, which all must affirm Indigenous collective rights. Paralleling these implications, Table 8.3 shows my recommendations concerning culturally-based school programming and community involvement.

Figure 8.3: The students, elders, and community members starting the powwow

Within international documents, there appears to be paradoxical understandings of the importance and rights of communities. The UNRIP (2011) proclaims that Indigenous communities possess "collective rights which are indispensable for their existence" (p.7). Collective rights possessed by Indigenous communities contrasts the UNCRPD's ontology of individual rights. For many Indigenous persons, the UNCRPD's individualist framework could be seen as undermining Indigenous knowledges, sovereignty, and self-determination. It could be problematic to advocate for Indigenous community involvement without upholding the collective rights of Indigenous peoples. For example, some Indigenous peoples believe the UNCRPD's failure to condemn colonisation as the cause of many disabilities rejects the collective rights of Indigenous peoples to building communities based on community needs as affirmed in the UNDRIP.

Within the TRC, federal schooling is considered an essential location for reconciliation. The TRC (2015c) calls for INAC to create federal schooling that "treats Indigenous and Euro-Canadian knowledge systems with equal respect" by requiring

collaboration between residential school survivors, Indigenous communities, and educators (p.122). Many of the "calls to action" within the TRC require that non-Indigenous policy makers become Indigenous allies. The purposes for schooling implicit in INAC's policies could be considered at odds with the Indigenous communities' needs, and undermine community collaboration. In my research, the young people expressed the difficulty of "walking in two worlds" which refers to federal schooling's often paradoxical purposes of promoting cultural revitalisation while balancing globalisation (pp.139-142, 173-174, 176, 213-215).

At the level of the reserves, band councils and elders have a significant role in enabling community involvement in creating culturally-responsive schooling. During residential schooling, families and communities were prohibited from being part of schooling. As such, it is important to explain the vital roles community members can have in schooling today. Band councils governing schools should consider what community needs their schools seek to address through collaboration within their communities. The majority of official school professionals in federal schools are settlers, with elders and community members often serving as volunteers.

At the school level, promoting community involvement has multiple implications. Currently, settlers make up the majority of federal school professionals and frequently settler hegemony is embedded in Indigenous-settler interactions within classrooms. In addition, within federal schools learning should be viewed as a communal activity that seeks to include elders and community members whenever possible. As demonstrated by the powwow photovoice exhibit, schools should honour how knowledge is disseminated and passed on to younger generations. With largely unreformed provincial curricula being applied in federal schools, Indigenous knowledges are often absent from classroom content. For students with disabilities, school programming concerning post-secondary school goals necessitates extensive community involvement to assist in responding to cultural beliefs regarding conceptions of disability and purposes for schooling.

Table 8.3: Recommendations for encouraging community involvement in developing culturally-responsive school programming

International	Federal	Reserves	Schools
The UNCRPD and the UNRIP should seek to navigate the collective and individual rights of Indigenous peoples with disabilities.	INAC's policies should result in building Indigenous communities so that students have the choice to remain within their reserves or seek	Band councils should consider the various purposes of schooling and develop a vision for their schools.	Settler school professionals should be taught about hegemony and asked to consider their own colonial attitudes and behaviours.

	workplace/higher education opportunities in settler towns.		
To encourage Indigenous community participation, the UNCRPD needs to be available in Indigenous languages.	INAC needs to have protocols requiring the documentation of Indigenous community collaboration regarding the integration of Indigenous knowledges into content and pedagogy.	Band councils should recruit and support community members to earn post-secondary teaching certification.	All school professionals should be aware of the local schooling history to promote awareness of the ongoing legacies of residential schooling that influence community involvement in schooling.
		Band councils could consider hiring elders or community members to formally provide cultural teachings to students and teachers.	School programming should include community dialogues about the dilemmas of "walking in two worlds" and specifically assist families of students with disabilities in navigating potential impasses.

Promoting activism

Culturally-responsive school programming should include promoting the rights of Indigenous peoples. The young people framed the powwow photovoice exhibit as a space in which to combat settler racism, reasoning that settlers witnessing a ceremony and seeing their photos could dispel settler racism (pp. 87-91). Amelia explained, "we [*Anishinaabe people and settlers*] live in the same world and it's time to see the good in each other." Sage hoped that inviting settlers to the event would show that "we are not stereotypes—lazy, druggy, bad—we actually care about Mother Nature, our people, and culture." She said, "our event [*the powwow photovoice exhibit*] is trying to change the world—that is still very racist." The significance of schooling that promotes activism was shown by the powwow photovoice exhibit. The students, their family members, and elders considered promoting Anishinaabe rights as one of the purposes for schooling (pp. 176-178). At the international, federal, reserve, and school levels activism is essential to developing culturally-responsive school

programming. Within each of these levels, promoting activism has different applications explored below. In relation to these implications, Table 8.4 summaries my recommendations concerning including activism as central to designing cultural-responsive school programming.

Figure 8.4: Sage being embraced by her family at the powwow

The international community is largely unaware of the persistent disparities facing Canadian Indigenous students in federal schools (pp. 16, 200-204). Garnering activism on the international stage could be facilitated by federal schools participating in international assessments and research. The SDG's framework calls on all countries to ensure inclusive education for all (UN General Assembly, 2015) and target 4.5 specifically mentions eliminating educational disparities for Indigenous peoples and persons with disabilities. As such, the exclusion of federal schools in international assessment subverts the SDG'S inclusivity of all nations working towards betterment. In addition, the UNDRIP affirms the self-governance of Indigenous communities including decisions regarding data collection.

Federal schools are central to reserve communities and often possess symbolic significance as rallying points for activism. Federal government support for Indigenous self-governance over schooling is essential in promoting healing. The recent national inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women (2019) condemns residential schooling legacies and current educational disparities facing Indigenous peoples as part of Canada's ongoing genocide. However, this nuanced understanding of genocide within settler states has yet to be accepted by most Canadian federal government bodies including INAC. Activism is further hindered by INAC's lack of transparency regarding federal school achievement and demographic data (p. 16). This lack of record keeping means the number of students with

disabilities excluded from schooling remains unknown. Without this data, lobbying for media and public support is challenging. Reserves are not within the jurisdiction of provincial laws regarding disability or special education rights. The lack of a federal schooling policy means that discrimination based on disability could remain unaddressed. The federal government must maintain Indigenous self-governance, however, the Canada's *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982) prohibits discrimination based on disability for all Canadians.

Reserve communities demonstrate activism by creating schools on their lands. This activism can extend to every decision concerning school governance, boundaries, curricula, staffing, and special education programming. SLSS demonstrates activism by rejecting provincial special education and forging their own Anishinaabe-based programming. By designing their own special education programming, Anishinaabe ways of knowing are promoted. Increasing the research capacity within reserves will assist in ensuring that ethical research and assessment occurs within reserves.

Promoting activism at the school level could involve curricula that acknowledges historical and ongoing settler injustices. Understanding power structures could help promote student activism instead of apathy or discouragement. Challenging students to reflect on the structures that interplay within their daily lives shapes contextualised understandings of cultural identities. Non-Indigenous teachers could openly consider settler dominance by facilitating and demonstrating critical consciousness within their positionality, teaching content, and pedagogical practises.

Table 8.4: Recommendations for promoting activism in developing culturally-responsive school programming

International	Federal	Reserves	Schools
The international community needs to publicly regard data from settler countries as distorted because of the lack of Indigenous community involvement.	Federal agencies, especially INAC, need to recognise their own past and current colonial policies as part of Canada's genocide.	To combat exploitative research practices, band councils should design their own research protocols regarding ethics and data dissemination.	Non-Indigenous school professionals should seek to diminish settler dominance within the classroom.
To encourage Indigenous participation, international assessments should collaborate with Indigenous communities to	INAC needs to have transparency regarding student enrolment, special education allocations per student, and course achievement data.	Band councils no longer rely on provincial curricula, instead designing their own curricula including special education programming that is	School professions could creatively work alongside the students and community members to create activist events like

create research protocols that respect Indigenous ownership and ethics.		based on localised needs, knowledges, and aspirations.	the powwow photovoice exhibit.
Canada's progress towards SDG 4 should be assessed with specific attention given to disparities facing Indigenous students with disabilities in federal schools.	The federal government should continue to work with parliament and Indigenous leaders to pass a federal education act that protects the rights of students in reserves, including prohibiting discrimination based on disability.		School professionals could help shape positive cultural identities by teaching students about power structures and methods of analysing the ongoing influences of these structures.

Limitations of my research

My time in the field was restricted by the school calendar, which could be considered a limitation of this research. The grand council was keen to ensure that the young people had the opportunity to complete the project, and adhering to this timeframe attempted to maintain my participants' well-being. Since the majority of SLSS's students migrate for fishing in the summer, completing my fieldwork within SLSS's timescale made it most likely to maintain access with the young people.

My research was an initial exploration of Anishinaabe conceptions of disability, meaning this multisite case study served to provide a more community-based overview. Multisite case studies are criticised for reducing the detail of each individual case. Conversely, this research design could produce a more nuanced understanding of a phenomenon than a single case study (Burns, 2012). Within Indigenous literature, researchers are cautioned about assuming community cohesion concerning cultural practices and opinions (L. T. Smith, 2005b). Indeed, in more collectivist cultures it can be difficult to ascertain dissenting or less popular opinions (Triandis et al., 1988). In an attempt to mitigate for potential community censoring, the elders interviewed did not know the identities of the six young people specifically involved. My close relationships with the young people over the 10 months of fieldwork seemed to increase their comfort with sharing their personal views. Yet, understanding the extent to which the young people felt comfortable sharing ideas that they considered contrarian to community norms remains unknown.

Indigenous scholars explicitly warn non-Indigenous researchers about generating research accounts that pan-Indigenise communities (Snow et al., 2015). Among the 634 First Nations reserves in Canada, who speak about 50 different languages, there will likely be distinct understandings of disability. As such, applying these findings and methods across tribes undercuts distinct Indigenous identities and self-determination. It is important to note my research involved self-identified Anishinaabe peoples. Although some of the spiritual practices like smudging and powwows are practiced by tribes across North America, the specific cultural, spiritual, and collective meanings of these practices vary.

The institutional guidelines that applied to my doctoral research also limited the methodologies I could employ. I was unable to adhere to the Indigenist research suggestion of community-based methodology, whereby participants become co-researchers at each step of the research process including the research topic and research questions (Snow et al., 2015). However, my doctoral research topic derived primarily from my expertise and specialities with specific university timelines. Although I was unable to adhere to all the aspects of community-based research, I sought to use power-sharing methods and foster an ethos of community involvement in my research. For example, I employed participatory data collection tools, including photovoice tasks, talking circles, walking interviews, and the powwow photovoice exhibit.

However, if community-based research is considered more of a spectrum of community involvement, my research demonstrates community involvement in the planning and execution of the powwow photovoice exhibit. Community involvement was also shown in the circular consent processes (Appendices A-D), involving grand council, reserve band councils, elders, SLSS's administration, family members, and the young people, at multiple stages throughout my research. My fulfilment of the access requirements outlined by the grand council, reserve band councils and SLSS, also demonstrates community involvement in my research process (pp. 72-73).

The next section describes the contributions of this research to theory, Anishinaabe communities, SLSS, teachers, methodological innovations, policy, and the young people.

Contributions

Special education in federal school in Canada is infrequently examined within academia, suggesting that my research serves as an initial theoretical step in seeking understanding. Exploring the intersections of settler colonialism, disability, and schooling, is a combination rarely analysed in academia (C. Barker & Murray, 2010; Chataika, 2012; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009). Indeed, disability is frequently presumed to be universal,

meaning that when this intersectionality is researched, it often overlooks cultural diversity within special education and disability research (Harry & Klingner, 2014). In addition, SDT has been sparsely applied in educational settings (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014). Therefore, my doctoral research differs from the majority of current research involving CLD students and special education, by seeking contextualised understandings of disability (Chataika, 2012).

The literature review presented in chapter 2 could be seen as adding to scholarship by providing an overview of the current body of research involving conceptions of disability and Indigenous peoples. My literature review could also be considered an act of decolonisation by centring the works of Indigenous scholars from various disciplines, which are often not searchable on standard research databases. Therefore, my doctoral research exposes various gaps, and illuminates areas that require further exploration. One such area is my application of SDT within a settler colonial state. SDT's principle of gaining contextualised understandings of disability among individuals living in vulnerable and obscure situations, aligns with the reserve context. Thus, my research contributes theoretically to SDT by challenging the oft-assumed, geographically-based demarcation of the global South. Contesting the global South and global North divide in my dissertation, journal articles, and conference presentations has proved difficult, yet seems to offer some nuance to the field.

Along with the opportunity of exploring insights around conceptions of disability, came the ethical responsibility of attempting to become an Anishinaabe-ally at all stages of my research. The communities involved held well-founded fears of researchers, because of previous anthropological research that mistreated and exploited reserves in this region (see p. 48). This history, coupled with tumultuous Anishinaabe-settler relationships in this region, makes my research the first non-Indigenous led research project to be approved since the 1970s. The grand council used my research to frame their research protocols and approval processes.[149] These developing protocols assert Anishinaabe self-governance and prepare for future research activities.

There are various methodological innovations demonstrated in my research which contribute to scholarship. The core principles of Indigenist research framed my entire project (Figure 3.1, p. 49). Engaging in circular consent (Figure 3.5, p. 64), enhanced community ownership and involvement in the research, as demonstrated during the powwow photovoice exhibit. The Indigenist research principle of creatively including cultural practices in data

[149] The grand council is in the process of drafting writing documents that codify how researchers can apply for access to reserves in their area. During this process, I have attended (or Skyped) over a dozen meetings with the grand chief. They want to ensure should other researchers ask for access, they have a protocol that could lead to more research like mine.

collection informed my use of Anishinaabe talking circles, walking interviews, and the powwow. Reflexively contemplating my positionality, also a tenant of Indigenist research, created the ethos of collaboration with the young people that led to walking interviews. This tool was further developed by this research, because it is rarely employed outside of urban settings.

Power-sharing between myself and my Anishinaabe participants caused the research to be an enriching community-wide endeavour. The young people taught me that sharing knowledge, especially with elders, is a sacred process, which is steering my ongoing research dissemination. The powwow photovoice exhibit demonstrates the role research can have in healing from oppression. The power-sharing ethos embraced in my research seemed to inspire the young people to share the photovoice exhibit with additional Anishinaabe communities. Within academia, I published an article focusing on data analysis and hearing the voices of Anishinaabe elders. I have given presentation at various educational research conferences about Indigenist research principles.[150]

On the school level, this research impacted SLSS's practices, policies, and funding. Local publicity concerning the powwow photovoice exhibit was picked up by a national television company which covered a series of stories about SLSS focussing on federal schooling disparities (see p. 104). These news articles included names of individuals, government bodies, and the school, so I have not included them here, in an attempt to maintain the anonymity of the grand council, reserve band councils, reserves, and the young people.

After this national media coverage, an ongoing court case concerning SLSS's eligibility for federal funding was resolved in SLSS's favour.[151] This provided the school with an additional CAD $1 million in funding. Self-governance over SLSS means that the grand council responded to the research findings immediately by providing daily access to ceremonies. In addition, policies outlining SLSS's rejection of provincial special education curricula are being ratified by the grand council. As I continue to meet with the grand council, additional policies will likely be drafted. Therefore, my research shows how research with Indigenous communities can decolonise schooling and promote self-governance.

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[150] My ongoing academic presentations and articles have tried to involve the young people. In seeking to continue the process of circular consent, I contact them in relation to my ongoing use of their photos. Often, before a conference, the young people will ask about my specific topic and suggest which photos they believe would be useful.

[151] INAC originally denied SLSS federal funding claiming that federal schools cannot amalgamate students from various reserves. INAC believe Indigenous self-governance over schooling involved schools within each reserve. Within this context, the creation of SLSS demonstrates the innovation and bravery of the grand council, elders, and local band councils.

Conducting this research exposed the Canadian federal government's neglect. As such, my research could contribute to discussion on national education policy as shown in Tables 8.1-8.4 featuring my recommendations. The lack of statistical data concerning federal schooling makes research, such as mine, crucial in ongoing attempts to expose the challenges facing federal schools and the federal government's shortcomings.

On the international policy level, there are documents that concern Indigenous peoples with disabilities in educational settings. My research calls into question the UNCRDP's potential Northern biases like the omission of disability prevention or individualist ontology. To reach SDG 4, the intersection of Indigenous peoples with disabilities within the school setting needs to be examined (see Table 8.4) . Hopefully as this intersection comes out of obscurity, the UNDRIP will be upheld meaning that culturally appropriate special education will be considered, researched, and implemented.

The young people often said "our powwow" or "our project" when referring to my research, which suggests a sense of ownership. Their involvement throughout the research process seemed to cause feelings of being valued not just by me, but also their reserves. During his final interview, Cedar said, "our powwow—the research—made my life important, and I might be able to keep helping other people." Amelia believed that "all the steps" that led to organising the powwow photovoice exhibit "kept me from ending up back in jail, since I wanted to be at school for our project." At the onset of the research, Cedar was sceptical that he would "stick with something all year" but the powwow photovoice exhibit showed him "that little actions matter because they build something that can be great." He said, "the whole research project was an adventure that caused me to keep coming to school." Raven believed the "the powwow [*photovoice exhibit*] changed my life because I made a difference…and I want to keep trying to make the world better." Similarly, Jade felt "our research saved my life because whenever suicidal thoughts come this year I just replay the feeling of making a difference I felt doing our project." This idea was reiterated by Sage who said "our research made me see that changing the world is possible." Amelia reflected that "doing this project gave me the courage to apply for college because now I know I can stick to something all year."

As my time in the field came to an end, the young people decided to continue sharing the photovoice exhibit with other communities. They frequently contact me to tell me about their lives. They made a book of the photos and captions displayed at the powwow. They obtained funds from SLSS to print copies of their book, which were given to elders in each of their communities. They sent a signed copy of their book to me.

Figure 8.5: SLSS students at the powwow photovoice exhibit

Conclusion

Often, research involving First Nations people ends up replicating common Northern narratives of dysfunctional communities, which unintentionally or not, upholds settler paternalism (Goulet & Goulet, 2014; Hart, 2002; Niezen, 2014; Regan, 2010; Waldram, 2004, 2014). Considering how the young people explained the challenges in their reserves, and vividly explained how these struggles impacted their own lives, discourses of dysfunction or failure could have been the focus of my research. However, as the young people explained their lives, fears, and hopes the significance of healing resonated throughout the research. As such, this exploratory research illuminates the rich knowledge and ingenuity of the Anishinaabe communities and the hope of their youth to create a better world.

The existence of SLSS came about as a response from Anishinaabe community leaders to the needs of their youth, with the revolutionary idea of forming a school that serviced multiple reserves. The programmes implemented within SLSS invite the community members to become active within the school, paving the way towards further healing. As SLSS formalises their programming, their rejection of provincial special education curricula will certainly include battles concerning federal funding eligibility. SLSS's attempts to deliver an Anishinaabe-based programme requires negotiating the Anishinaabe and settler worlds. They are involved in the work of walking in two worlds on the path to healing. It is worth noting that SLSS has gaps and ongoing discrepancies to address; however, it has become a beacon of hope for Anishinaabe peoples in the region highlighting the role schooling has to play in Canada's journey towards equity for First Nations peoples.

My research is occurring during a crucial time for federal schooling. Recently, a coalition of First Nations leaders and members of parliament blocked a federal education bill, and opened up a national dialogue concerning federal schooling disparities. Debates concerning whether or not a federal education law violates Indigenous sovereignty continue even after the recent federal election, which has spurred a myriad of competing suggestions for policy reform. However, special education has yet to feature in any of these discussions. As such, research like mine could add a much-needed component to the on-going debates concerning federal schooling, special education, decolonisation, and First Nations self-governance.

Epilogue

For the young people who participated in the fieldwork, the last two academic years have been filled with triumphs, as well as challenges.

Amelia graduated from SLSS at the end of the fieldwork period and has now completed her first year of college in a social work programme. She works part-time in a retail shop, attends college, and has remained drug and alcohol-free for the past 30 months. To top this all off, Amelia and her boyfriend Kodack, celebrated the arrivals of a baby boy into their family.

In the year after my fieldwork period, Sage stopped attending SLSS. She suffered the untimely death of her father, resulting from kidney failure after a life-long battle with alcoholism. For Sage, what followed was a stint of binge drinking for several months. The chaos of this time led her to check herself into a drug rehabilitation programme. Fortunately, Sage returned to SLSS in the New Year and went on to graduate from secondary school in 2019. She continues to volunteer with the local 2SLGBTQQIA+ organisation.

Raven delivered the valedictory address for SLSS whilst cradling her new-born daughter. She went on to complete six months of a college course in an introduction to social work programme. Unfortunately, she was later forced to drop out of the course because of criminal charges being brought for driving while intoxicated that caused bodily harm to others. In the wake of this, her daughter was placed in state custody, but there remains hope amid the challenges. Raven is currently in a drug and alcohol rehabilitation programme, with the hope to regain custody over her daughter and return to college.

Jade has also made encouraging progress. He remains in his community but has moved in with a group of friends. He obtained full-time construction work to cover his housing expenses, and he remains enrolled at SLSS. At the moment, he completes his lessons from home. He hopes to graduate from SLSS soon, at which point he will be able to begin his formal apprenticeship in welding. Furthermore, as a result of frequent drug testing at his job, Jade has remained drug-free for the past 20 months. Meanwhile, his grandmother, Blossom, moved 1000 km away to take care of her recently-abandoned, younger great-grandchildren.

Cedar is in foster care and stopped attending SLSS last year when he became a father. His baby girl is being raised by the mother, whom Cedar occasionally visits. He hopes to earn joint custody of his daughter soon. He continues to struggle with substance addictions and

worries this could harm his petition for custody of his daughter. He is currently part of the campaign of an Anishinaabe politician running for a seat as a member of parliament.

Addiction, poverty, and unregulated type 1 diabetes continue to make Iris' life precarious. At the end of the fieldwork period, Iris successfully completed secondary school. She moved out of her father Miigwen's home to live with a group of friends where she became involved with drug trafficking. She is awaiting trial for possessing crack with the intent to sell. Being frequently incapacitated renders her unable to regularly take her insulin or attend her medical appointments. This has resulted in two near-fatal comas that caused irreparable nerve damage to her legs, and a substantial loss of vision. Presently, when not in hospital, Iris is living on the streets of Riverside.

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Appendix A: Young person circular consent script

Circular Consent- Young person preliminary interview

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the first interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Express possible risks of interviewing.
- Introduce and assess consent to participate in the photovoice Task 1.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before beginning, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our classroom discussions about my work, could you please explain what this project is about? What topics will we be talking about? Do you have any questions about the project?

Roles: At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?
Data use/ownership: I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.
Third party consent: Discussed and taught during the interview with an activity.

-Read this statement aloud to the student. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(student's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine. Although we are in the school—there is no grade attached to your participation.

Anonymity:
Research site is anonymous
My project will be available at my university and I might publish articles or do presentations, it is possible that someone you know might read it or see some of the photos and think you were part of the project. Also, some people might know you are doing this project because you will be taking photos.

Negotiating levels of anonymity
If you don't like having people know you were part of this project you don't have to participate. Here are some options if you do want to be part of this project.
You could choose to use a fake name. However, it is possible that people, especially within your community will realise you are part of the project and may recognise words you say or photos you take. Sometimes when we look at pictures or read what other people said, we might know guess who was involved. You do not have to take photos of yourself or anything

else that makes you easily recognisable. I will do as much as I can to keep you anonymous (no recognisable). Do you have any questions?

Read statement of anonymity decision. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

I,_____(student's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my identity secret by changing my name in her university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project. Yes ☐ No ☐

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential. Do you remember what confidential means? (stays between you and me).

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, or choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean the student is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Photo consent:
Now that we've talk about your first photo task, I just want to make sure you know what the photos will be used for. What will we be doing with your photos?
If there is a photo you don't like, we can throw it away.
Will you allow me to use my photos and photos of my written project and any articles or presentations? Yes ☐ No ☐
Informed concerning the next part of research:
So we've talked about the task you'll be doing this week. Do you have any questions about it? Is it something you want to do? Can you explain what you'll be bringing to the next interview?

Safeguarding: If anything we talk about makes you feel upset or very worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Circular Consent- Second young person interview

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the second interview regarding their selected photos.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research (specifically photos)
- Discuss ownership of the photos.
- Express possible risks.
- Gain informed and voluntary consent for photovoice Task 2.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record: Before beginning, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: What will we be talking about in this interview? (What have you brought will you today?) Do you have any questions about the project?
Data use/ownership: I will be using the things we talk about today and your photos for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations. Is this okay with you?
Is it okay for me to share your photos with other members of my research team (in Cambridge)?
Voluntary consent:
Sometimes photos make us feel good, and sometimes photos make us feel sad. We can stop at any point. If there is a photo you don't like, we can throw it away. If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine. Although we are in the school—there is no grade attached to your participation.

Third party consent: In the photos you picked to show me today, are they of any people other than yourself? (In yes continue this section)

- Did you ask these people if you could take their photo?
- What did you tell them the photos were for?
- Did you tell them that I would be seeing the photo too?
- Did you show them your photo and ask if they wanted it deleted or retaken?
- Did any of the people you took photos of say "no" to having the photo taken?

-Read this statement aloud to the student. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(young person's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information and my photos for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Anonymity: Last time we talked about being anonymous and you decided that _____. Do your photos line up with that choice?

- If you decided to be anonymous, then you didn't take any photos of yourself?).
- If you opted out of being anonymous, do you still agree with that decision? After taking these photos your choice may have changed.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential. Do you remember what confidential means? (stays between you and me).

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, or choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean the student is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

Informed concerning the next part of research:
So we've talked about the second photovoice task you'll be doing this week. Do you have any questions about it? Is it something you want to do? Can you explain what you'll be bringing to the next interview?

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Circular Consent- Third young person interview

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the third interview regarding their selected photos.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research (specifically photos).
- Discuss ownership of the photos and possible use in a public display
- Introduce and determine consent for talking circle stage.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record: Before beginning, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: What will we be talking about in this interview? (What have you brought will you today?)

Data use/ownership: I will be using the things we talk about today and your photos for my university report and possibly for future publications/presentations. Is this okay with you? Is it okay for me to share your photos with other members of my research team (in Cambridge)?

Voluntary consent:
Sometimes photos make us feel good, and sometimes photos make us feel sad. We can stop at any point. If there is a photo you don't like, we can throw it away.

If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine. Although we are in the school—there is no grade attached to your participation.

Third party consent: In the photos you picked to show me today, are they of any people other than yourself? (In yes continue this section)

- Did you ask these people if you could take their photo?
- What did you tell them the photos were for?
- Did you tell them that I would be seeing the photo too?

- Did you show them your photo and ask if they wanted it deleted or retaken?
- Did these people tick off the consent form? Can you give those to me?
- Did any of the people you took photos of say "no" to having the photo taken?

-Read this statement aloud to the student. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(student's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information and my photos for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential. Do you remember what confidential means? (stays between you and me).

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, or choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean the student is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (Pass out flyer)

Informed consent for next phase:
-Introduce the talking circle phase of the project. I will not be audio recording these meetings. However, like in our interviews at the end, we will summarise the main points. I will write these main points down in my journal. This data will be used for my project.
-In the talking circles we will be discussing the photos you choose to bring. The group will be making captions for the photos and putting these photos into categories.
-Are you willing to participate in the talking circles?
-Are you nervous about this part of the project? Is there anything I could do to make the talking circle comfortable to you?
-Are you okay with being in a talking circle with the following people_____?

Circular Consent- Talking circle
Objectives:
- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the talking circle, with specific attention to sharing the pictures each student picked with the members of the circle.
- Confirm level of anonymity that each student wants.
- Notify of the risks of breached confidentiality.

- Determine which students consent to be part and consent to showing their photos at the public display.
- Remind the students that only captions and photos they want to include would be in the public display.

Permission to keep notes: Since this is a sacred ceremony, I won't be audio recording it like our interviews. However, during the circle, I will be keeping notes. At the end of the circle we will discuss the main points and I will write these points in my journal. Is everyone okay with that?

***Beginning of the talking circle**
Informed consent: The purpose of this meeting is to discuss the photos each of you has selected. We are going to organise these photos into categories. This means that you will be show your photos (only the 10 you chose to bring) to the entire group. It also means you will briefly tell us about the each photo. Other members of the talking circle may ask you questions about your photos.

Data use/ownership: I will be using the things we talk about today and your photos for my university report and possibly for future publications/presentations. Is this okay with you? Is it okay for me to share your photos with other members of my research team (in Cambridge)?

Voluntary consent: If you don't want to discuss a photo or show it to the group you don't have to. Being in this talking circle means it's always fine to just say, "pass".
We (of just you) can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the being in the circle at any point that is fine. Although we are in the school—there is no grade attached to your participation.

Confidentiality: Some of the things we talk about today could be personal. The photos we show each other and the things we say about these photos should remain private. This means you shouldn't tell other people about what we talk about today.
*If any one feels like they don't want to be in the talking circle you don't have to participate.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. Please remember to be kind and patient with each other. Remember, we can stop at any time, take a break, or choose not to answer the questions.

-Read this statement aloud to the student. Prompt each of them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(student's name), agree to be part of this talking circle and give Carly Beth Christensen my permission to use this information in her report and in future publications or presentations. I promise to not discuss what we have talked about today with other people outside of the circle.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean the student is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

*At the end of the talking circle

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this talking circle today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (Pass out flyer)

Continued informed consent: Next we will be having a meeting to plan the public display. Then after you have attended the display, we will have one more individual interview (just me and you).
You don't have to participate in this display—meaning we won't use your photos or photos other students have taken of you.

*Brief discussion about the public photo display. What do you think would be good about being part of this project? What worries you about this part?

In the next few days let me know if you think the photo display is something you would like to be part of.

Circular Consent- Fourth young person interview

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the fourth interview regarding the public display.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Discuss ownership of the photos and possible use in a public display.
- Introduce and determine consent for talking circle stage.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record: Before beginning, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: In the interview today we will be discussing what you thought about the public display. We will also be talking about some of the specific themes in your photos. At the end of the interview, I'll ask you about what you thought of being part of this project.

Data use/ownership: I will be using the things we talk about today and your photos for my university report and possibility for future publications/presentations. Is this okay with you? Is it okay for me to share your photos with other members of my research team (in Cambridge)?

Voluntary consent:
If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine. Although we are in the school—there is no grade attached to your participation.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential. Do you remember what confidential means? (stays between you and me).

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, or choose not to answer the questions.

-*Read this statement aloud to the student. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).*

Verbal Consent: I,_____(young person's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information and my photos for her university report and possibly presentations or publications.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean the student is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (Pass out flyer)

Informed consent for next phase: I will be going back to England to write up a large report about all the things we've done in the past few months.
I might end up wanting to use parts of all this stuff into smaller reports. Can I use the photos you selected for our interviews or the public display? Or would you rather I don't continue to use your photos?
If no, can I use the information from the interviews we had together?
I may do presentations about the things I've learned from you, your classmates, teachers and your community. Can I use the photos you selected in our interviews for these presentations? Which photos?
In the future, I may have the chance to do presentations about the stuff we've learned that could include you. Is that something you might want to do?

Appendix B: Family member circular consent script

Family member initial consent and introduction to the project

Objectives:

- Provide a brief overview of the project.
- Explain the phases of consent and my commitment to communicating with them throughout the project.

Informed consent: I am doing a research project that is part of my university course at Cambridge University in England. I am a special education teacher who use to teach in_____and_____. I am interested in looking at how Anishinaabe students accessing special education needs view themselves. I want to look at what needs these students have and explore ways that the school could do to help them. This research could help your young person to feel like people care about their needs. It could also help the school to realise how to better help students.

This research project will be involving four –six secondary school students from your community. I would also like to interview you and the teachers of each of the students involved. Also, so I can better understand the community and education, I would like to interview elders.

If you approve of this project, the students will be introduced to the project and asked to volunteer to be part of it. The young people will be asked to take photos that represent who they are. In the individual young people interviews, I will ask them about their photos. Photos are often a useful way to engage students in research and help young people to communicate how they feel. The student will only show me photos they choose.

Voluntary consent: if any of the individual participants (Family members, elders, teachers, or young people) don't want to answer my questions they can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if they want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

Guardian's consent for young person's participation in preliminary interview and photovoice Task 1

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to have their child participate in the first interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted for their child at this stage of the research.
- Express possible risks of interviewing.
- Introduce and assess consent to having their child participate in the first interview and photo voice task 1.

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions about my work, could you please explain what this project is about? What topics will we be talking about? Do you have any questions about the project?

Introduce the photovoice project

Photovoice Assignment 1: Who am I?

Your child will have a week to take photos that show different parts of who they are.

Roles: At this point could you tell me what things your child will be doing? (Preliminary interview, learning about taking photos, taking the first set of photographs)

Data use/ownership: I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Third party consent: I will teach your child about asking people if they can take photos. They will be expected to tell any people they photograph about the project.

Voluntary consent: If at any point your child doesn't want to answer my questions they can just say, "pass". We can take breaks at any point. Also, if they want to stop the interview at any point that is fine. Although the interviews might happen at the school—there is no grade attached to your participation.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything I talk about with your child is confidential.

Anonymity: *(Depending on what the school and community decides regarding anonymity—this section will be revised accordingly)*

Option A: Research site is anonymous (decided by grand council and SLSS)
My project will be available at my university and I might publish articles or do presentations, it is possible that someone you know might read it or see some of the photos and think your child was part of the project. Also, some people might know your child is part of this project because they will be taking photos.

Negotiating levels of anonymity
If you don't like having people know your child is part of this project they don't have to participate. However, here are some options if you do want to be part of this project.
I could use a fake name when referring to your child in my report. However, it is possible that people, especially within your community will realise they are part of the project and may recognise words they said or photos they took. Your child does not have to take photos of himself/herself or anything else that makes their identity easily recognisable. I will do as much as I can to keep you anonymous (no recognisable). Do you have any questions?

Permission to audio record:
Is it okay with you that I audio record your statement of consent?

Read this statement aloud to the guardian. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(family members's name), agree to have my child_____interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen and participate in the first photo-taking task. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Read statement of anonymity decision.

I,_____(family member's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my child's identity secret by changing his/her name in the university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project.

Informed concerning the next part of research:
After they have taking the photos about whom they are, they will select 10 of these photos to talk to me about in another interview.

Safeguarding: If anything I talk about with your child makes him/her feel upset or very worried there are professionals that know about my project and can talk to your child about how they are feeling. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for your child to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Circular Consent- Family member's first interview
Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the first interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Express possible risks of interviewing.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before starting, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions about my work, could you please explain what this project is about? What topics will we be talking about? Do you have any questions about the project?

> **Roles:** At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?
> **Data use/ownership:** I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

-Read this statement aloud to the guardian. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(guardian's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Anonymity: *(Depending on what the school and community decides regarding anonymity—this section will be revised accordingly)*

<u>Option A: Research site is anonymous</u>
My project will be available at my university and I might publish articles or do presentations, it is possible that someone you know might read it or see some of the photos and think you were part of the project.

<u>Negotiating levels of anonymity</u>
If you don't like having people know you were part of this project you don't have to participate. Here are some options if you do want to be part of this project.
You could choose to use a fake name. However, it is possible that people, especially within your community will realise you are part of the project and may recognise words you say or photos you take. Sometimes when we look at pictures or read what other people said, we might know guess who was involved. You do not have to take photos of yourself or anything

else that makes you easily recognisable. I will do as much as I can to keep you anonymous (no recognisable). Do you have any questions?

Read statement of anonymity decision. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

I,_____(family member's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my identity secret by changing my name in her university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, and you can choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean that the family member is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Informed concerning the next part of research:
I am hoping to interview you at least one more time near the end of the project. I will contact you to see if you are still willing to participate.

Reaffirm informed consent for young person's participation
Informed consent: At this phase in the project, your young person is working on their_____photo task. I just wanted to check that you were still comfortable with your young person's participation? Are you still fine with your previous decision about to use/not use your young person's name?

Circular Consent- Guardian's permission for their young person's participation in talking circles

Informed consent for next phase:
-Introduce the talking circle phase of the project. I will not be audio recording these meetings. However, like in our interviews at the end, we will summarise the main points. I will write these main points down in my journal. This data will be used for my project.
-In the talking circles we will be discussing the photos your young person brings. The group will be putting these photos into categories. These categories will be used in my report.
-Are you willing to have your young person be part of the talking circles?
-Are you nervous about this part of the project? Is there anything I could do to make the talking circle more comfortable to your young person?

Circular Consent- family member permission for their young person's participation public display and a final interview

Informed consent for next phase:
-Explain the public display, providing details concerning the location and form of this display. After participating in the talking circle, your student wants to be part of a public display. The various ways your young person could participate in this event include_____(depending on what the students' decide). I am hoping you can attend the photo display on _____ at_____. If you are unavailable, I am hoping members of your family will be able to come. After seeing the public display, I am going to interview you/or a family member concerning what they thought about it. I will be using this information for my research project. I also hope to interview your young person one final time about what they thought about the public display and being part of this project all term.
-Do you consent to having your young person participate in this public display? Her/his roles at this point include_____.
-If you can attend the public display, are you willing to be interviewed by me after you've attended? This interview would include questions regarding what you thought about the public display. I will also be asking questions concerning your reflections about being part of my research for the past few months.

Circular Consent- Family member consent to second interview (post public display)

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the post public display interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Discuss my possible future uses of the data collected.
- Determine whether they consent to the possible future uses of their students' data.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before starting, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions any questions about the project?

Roles: At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?

Data use/ownership: I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

-Read this statement aloud to the guardian. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(family member's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Anonymity: *(*

Read statement of anonymity decision. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

I,_____(family member's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my identity secret by changing my name in her university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, and you can choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean that the family member is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Informed concerning the next part of research:
I will be going back to England to write up a large report about this project.

I might end up wanting to use parts of all this stuff into smaller reports. Your young person has expressed that I can (whatever the student decided concerning future use of photos)…Do you agree?

If no, can I use the information from the interviews I had with your young person?

I may do presentations about this project. Can I use the photos your young person selected for these presentations? Which photos?

Now on to you—Can I use the interviews we had together in future projects and reports?

Does anything make you feel nervous concerning possible future uses of this information? What do you consider the risks to be?
*Discussions regarding potential risks will be adapted to reflect the level of anonymity determined by the community and school and the level of anonymity decided by the student and their guardian.

Appendix C: Teacher circular consent script

First teacher interview
Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the first interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Express possible risks of interviewing.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before starting, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions about my work, could you please explain what this project is about? What topics will we be talking about? Do you have any questions about the project?

> **Roles:** At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?
> **Data use/ownership:** I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

-Read this statement aloud to the teacher. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(teacher's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Anonymity:
Research site is anonymous
My project will be available at my university and I might publish articles or do presentations, it is possible that someone you know might read it or see some of the photos and think you were part of the project.

Negotiating levels of anonymity
If you don't like having people know you were part of this project you don't have to participate.
However, here are some options if you do want to be part of this project.
You could choose to use a fake name. However, it is possible that people, especially within your community will realise you are part of the project and may recognise words you say or photos you take. Sometimes when we look at pictures or read what other people said, we might know guess who was involved. You do not have to take photos of yourself or anything else that makes you easily recognisable. I will do as much as I can to keep you anonymous (no recognisable). Do you have any questions?

Read statement of anonymity decision. Provide them with a piece of paper with this written statement.

I,_____(teacher's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my identity secret by changing my name in her university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, and you can choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for queues that could mean that the family member is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Informed concerning the next part of research:
I am hoping to interview you or your colleague concerning each of the students involved in this project. The interviews will ask the same questions but will be specific to each individual young person. Also, I want to interview at l one more time near the end of the project to reflect on the public display. I will contact you to see if you are still willing to participate.
Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that any of the students involved in this project have out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Circular Consent- Teacher's consent post-public display interview

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the post public display interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Discuss my possible future uses of the data collected.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before starting, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions any questions about the project?

Roles: At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?

Data use/ownership: I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

-Read this statement aloud to the guardian. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(teacher's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Anonymity:

Read statement of anonymity decision. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely.

I,_____(teacher's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my identity secret by changing my name in her university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, and you can choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for cues that could mean that the family member is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Informed concerning the next part of research:
I will be going back to England to write up a large report about this project.

I might end up wanting to use parts of all this stuff into smaller reports. Can I use the interviews we had together in future projects and reports?

Does anything make you feel nervous concerning possible future uses of this information? What do you consider the risks to be?
*Discussions regarding potential risks will be adapted to reflect the level of anonymity determined by the community and school and the level of anonymity decided previously by the teacher.

MASSIVE THANK YOUS!!!!

Appendix D: Elder circular consent script

Preliminary circular consent

Collective consent from the Band Council/Chief
(For my research involving their community)

Objectives:

- Provide an overview of the project.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
    - Discuss the impact of their decision on the individual students.
- Express possible risks and benefits of the project.
- Explain the phases of consent and my commitment to communicating with them throughout the project.
- Gain consent to conduct the first and second student interviews and photo tasks.

Informed consent: I am doing a research project that is part of my university course at Cambridge University in England. I am a special education teacher who use to teach in_____and_____. I am interested in looking at how Anishinaabe students accessing special education needs view themselves. I want to look at what needs these students have and explore ways that the school could do to help them.

Roles: This research project will be involve up to eight secondary school students. I would also like to interview the guardians and teachers of each of the students involved. Also, so I can better understand the community and education, I would like to interview the Elders that are considered the keepers of knowledge regarding education, schooling and young people.

If you approve of this project, the students will be introduced to the project and asked to volunteer to be part of it. The students will be asked to take photos that represent who they are. In the individual student interviews, I will ask them about their photos. Photos are often a useful way to engage students in research and help students to communicate how they feel. The student will only show me photos they choose.

Data use/ownership: I will be using the photos and interviews for my university report.

Voluntary consent: If at any point this council does not want me to continue my research, please let me know. I will be checking in with the Chief/Band member at each stage of the project.

Also, if any of the individual participants (community members or students) don't want to answer my questions they can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if they want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

Anonymity:

<u>Research site is anonymous</u>
My project will be available at my university and I might publish articles or do presentations, it is possible that someone you know might read it or see some of the photos and think your community and even specific people were part of the project. Also, some people might know which students were part of this project because they will be taking photos.

Some First Nations community opt of being anonymous because they want the research to empower the community. Remaining anonymous may limit the impact the research could have. However, making this choice has direct impacts on the individuals involved. If this council decides that the community will be known, then it may mean that

only students and guardians who are willing to have their identity known can be part of this project.

If individuals wanted to have some level of not being known, I could use a fake names. However, it is possible that people, especially within your community will realise they are part of the project and may recognise words they said or photos they took. Even if the students do not take photos of himself/herself or anything else that makes their identity easily recognisable.

Safeguarding: Talking about these topics could make the participants feel sad, upset, or comfortable. I will remind them throughout the process that we can take breaks. I will also remind them that they can drop out at any point without any bad consequences. I have contacted_____(child and family mental health services agency) about my work. I have flyers about their services, which I will give to all of the participants.

Conclusion:
Do you have any concerns or questions?
Who should I about updates about the project and getting permission to continue the research?
GET contact information-
THANK YOU!!!

Elder first interview

Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in the first interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Express possible risks of interviewing.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before starting, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions about my work, could you please explain what this project is about? What topics will we be talking about? Do you have any questions about the project?

Roles: At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?

Data use/ownership: I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

-Read this statement aloud to the Chief. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).

Verbal Consent: I,_____(Chief's/elder's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Anonymity:

Option A: Research site is anonymous
My project will be available at my university and I might publish articles or do presentations, it is possible that someone you know might read it or see some of the photos and think you were part of the project.

Negotiating levels of anonymity
If you don't like having people know you were part of this project you don't have to participate.
However, here are some options if you do want to be part of this project.
You could choose to use a fake name. However, it is possible that people, especially within your community will realise you are part of the project and may recognise words you say or photos you take. Sometimes when we look at pictures or read what other people said, we might know guess who was involved. You do not have to take photos of yourself or anything else that makes you easily recognisable. I will do as much as I can to keep you anonymous (no recognisable). Do you have any questions?

Read statement of anonymity decision. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely (if literacy levels permit).

I,_____(Elder's name) want the researcher, (Carly Beth Christensen) to attempt to keep my identity secret by changing my name in her university report, articles or presentations she might make about this project.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, and you can choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for queues that could mean that the chief/elder is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Informed concerning the next part of research:
I want to interview at l one more time near the end of the project to reflect on the public display. I will contact you to see if you are still willing to participate.

Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that any of the students involved in this project have out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Circular Consent- for student talking circles

Objectives:

- Provide an overview of the role of this stage of the research.
- Explain the process and steps taken to increase the comfort of the students participating.
- Gain consent to conduct the taking circles.

Informed consent:

-Introduce the talking circle phase of the project. I will not be audio recording these meetings. However, like in our interviews at the end, we will summarise the main points. I will write these main points down in my journal. This data will be used for my project.

-In the talking circles we will be discussing the photos. The group will be putting these photos into categories. These categories will be used in my report. The students will each select a few photos they feel comfortable sharing with the members of the circle. In addition, to the initial third party consent gained by the student, I will be contacting any individuals included in these photos to affirm on-going usages of photos featuring them. If any of the photos contain groups of individuals, you/ band will be consulted regarding consent for usage.

Roles: I am hoping you can provide insight into conducting this next stage. I have consulted with_____elder's regarding the facilitation of this talking circle. This individual has read through the talking points. Would you like to read through these documents? Do you have any suggestions? Does this process I have described align with your community's beliefs?

Data use/ownership: I will be using the photos and interviews for my university report.

Voluntary consent: If at any point this council does not want me to continue my research, please let me know. I will be checking in with the Chief/Band member at each stage of the project.

Also, if any of the individual participants (community members or students) don't want to talk during the circle they can say, "pass". Also, any member of the circle to stop participating and there will be no negative consequences. We can take breaks at any point.

Anonymity: *(Depending on what the school and community decides regarding anonymity—this section will be revised accordingly)*

Confidentiality:

I also want to remind you that everything we talk in the talking circle will be confidential. However issues highlighted by SLS student safeguarding code will be discussed with the appropriate staff members.

Safeguarding: Talking about these topics could make the participants feel sad, upset, or comfortable. I will remind them throughout the process that we can take breaks. I will also remind them that they can drop out at any point without any bad consequences. I have contacted_____(child and family mental health services agency) about my work. I have flyers about their services, which I will give to all of the participants.

Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that any of the students involved in this project have out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Informed concerning next stages:

Briefly remind the band council that the students who participate in the talking circles will be invited to plan the public display. Ask them if they have any suggestions regarding location, format, etc. for the public display.

Conclusion:
Do you have any concerns or questions?
Who should I about updates about the project and getting permission to continue the research?
THANK YOU!!!

Circular Consent- to public display

Objectives:

- Determine the level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research .
    - Discuss the impact of their decision on the individual students.
- Explain the purposes and process of planning the public display.
- Consult regarding crucial attendees.
- Gain consent to display photos (especially if photos feature large groups of tribal members).
    - Discuss possible risks to the community regarding the display of these photos.

Informed consent:
Explain the public display, providing details concerning the location and form of this display. After participating in the talking circle, your student wants to be part of a public display. The various ways your young person could participate in this event include_____(depending on what the students' decide). I am hoping you can attend the photo display on _____ at_____. Interviews will also be conducted with individuals after the public display. These interviews will ask about what they thought of the public display.

Roles: Any photos featuring tribal members require your consent. Are you willing to provide consent to use photos (should there be any) that show large groups of individuals?
Do you want to review the photo selections prior to the exhibit?
I am hoping that community members will attend. Do you have any suggestions concerning who should be invited? What is the best way to reach these individuals?

Voluntary consent: (for the individuals) Also, if any of the individual participants (community members or students) don't want to answer my questions they can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if they want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

Voluntary consent: (community level) If at any point this council does not want me to continue my research, please let me know. If you have any question or concerns you would like to discuss one-on-one with me, I have printed my phone number and email on these cards. Please do not hesitate to discuss this project with me at any pint.

Just a reminder---I will be checking in with the_____Chief/Band member and the ___principal at each stage of the project.

Anonymity: Revisit previous decision and evaluate potential strengths and weakness at this stage in the project.

Risks: The photos were taken in response to two assignments. The pictures feature a wide range of topics in various locations. However, some/most/a few of the photos feature your community. If is possible that the young person's reason for taking this photo could be seen

as criticising or depicting something negative concerning their live in your community. There are various options:

- Photos taken on tribal land, with the consent of individuals if included, could require band council approval for use in the public display.
    - However, if the council withholds a particular photo—this could impact the student in various ways. Discuss the possible outcomes and feelings of the student.
- The band council reviews photos and if said photos are deemed damaging to the First Nations community, the photos are only permitted for public display if edited to make the location indiscernible.
- Photos taken on tribal land, with the consent of individuals if included, will be allowed to be displayed without additional approval.

Safeguarding: Talking about these topics could make the participants feel sad, upset, or comfortable. I will remind them throughout the process that we can take breaks. I will also remind them that they can drop out at any point without any bad consequences. I have contacted_____(child and family mental health services agency) about my work. I have flyers about their services, which I will give to all of the participants.

Also—I am in the school daily and consult with the teachers concerning student well-being.

Conclusion:
Do you have any concerns or questions?
Who should I about updates about the project and getting permission to continue the research?
Discuss the next stage of the research: If you can attend the public display, are you willing to be interviewed by me after you've attended? This interview would include questions regarding what you thought about the public display. I will also be asking questions concerning your reflections about being part of my research for the past few months. Check your calendars and get back to me.

THANK YOU!!!

Circular Consent- Elder's consent to post-public display interview
Objectives:

- Gain informed and voluntary consent to participate in this post-public display interview.
- Determine level of anonymity wanted at this stage of the research.
- Express possible risks of interviewing.

***Beginning of the Interview**

Permission to audio record:
Before starting, is it okay with you that I record our conversation?

Informed consent: Remembering our discussions about my work, could you please explain what this project is about? What topics will we be talking about? (Today's interview will focus on what you thought of the public display). Do you have any questions about the project?

Roles: At this point could you tell me what things you're agreeing to do as part of this project?

Data use/ownership: I will be using this data (information) for my university report and possibly for publications/presentations.

Voluntary consent: If at any point you don't want to answer my questions you can just say, "pass". We can take a break at any point. Also, if you want to stop the interview at any point and no longer want to be part of this project that is fine.

-*Read this statement aloud to the chief/elder. Prompt them, if necessary, in repeating the statement. Provide them with a piece of paper with the statement written largely. (if literacy levels permit).*
Verbal Consent: I,_____(Chief's/elder's name), agree to be interviewed by Carly Beth Christensen. I agree that Carly can use this information for her university report and any future presentations or publications.

Confidentiality:
I also want to remind you that everything we talk about is confidential.

Risks: We might have a hard time explaining things to each other, which could make you, feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However, we can stop at any time, take a break, and you can choose not to answer the questions.

Proceed with the interview watching for queues that could mean that the chief/elder is agitated, uncomfortable, etc. Remind them that participation is voluntary.

***At the conclusion of the interview**

Informed concerning the next part of research:
I will be going back to England to write up a large report about this project.

I might end up wanting to use parts of all this stuff into smaller reports. Can I use the interviews we had together in future projects and reports?

Does anything make you feel nervous concerning possible future uses of this information? What do you consider the risks to be?
*Discussions regarding potential risks will be adapted to reflect the level of anonymity determined by the community and school and the level of anonymity decided previously by the teacher.

Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that any of the students involved in this project have out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Appendix E: Written consent form for family member and young person

January 11, 2017

Introducing Voices of Anishinaabe Young People: A Research Project

Dear Parents/Guardians/Students,

We have an opportunity for you or your son/daughter to participate in an activity where they are able to express themselves via discussions, a student-talking circle, and photos. A student from Cambridge University in England would like the opportunity to work with you. Carly Christensen is originally from Kenora and has chosen our area for her study.

The experience would have a couple parts and easy to do over the next few months. Carly will contact the student's parents/guardians for consent to work with the youth. She would then connect with the students with a personal interview and explain the process, what kind of pictures they could take, and consent requirements for photographing people. The students will be asked to take two sets of pictures. She will then connect with the students over a few weeks to look at and talk about their favourite pictures. After sharing their photos with Carly, the student will be asked to bring a selection of five of their photos to discuss during a student talking circle. The project will conclude with a public display of photos selected by the students.

Please find the attached information letter and permission form.

Feel free to contact me by email, Facebook, or cell phone for any more information.

Sincerely,

___*Name of principal and contact information removed for anonymity

Dear Student,

I would like to invite you to be part of a research project I am doing about how young people view themselves and their school. I am a certified secondary school teacher who grew up in Northwestern Ontario. This project is part of my university course. I think it is important to make sure the opinions, ideas, and concerns of young people are heard. It will start this January and end in April. For you to be part of this project, I will need your permission and your parent/guardian's permission.

Your Part

- Volunteer to speak to me by yourself four times throughout the next few months.
- Take at least 15 photos about your life and share those photos with me in our second and third meetings.
- If you take photos that have people in them, ask their permission to take the photo.
- Participate in a talking circle with the other classmates involved in the project.
- If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions I ask you, you don't need to answer those questions.

My Part

- I am interested in everything you tell me.
- I will ask you to check what you've told me to make sure it is what you said.
- With your consent, I will use the photos you take and the things you tell me for my University project.
- I will only use the 15 photos you choose to show me.
- Your name, the school's name and the community will be changed so that you can have a level of being anonymous (unknown) in my written project. However, should you take photos revealing your face, you will not be completely anonymous.
- All efforts will be made to keep the things you share confidential. Any illegal or dangerous situations told to me will be shared with the appropriate school professions.

I really hope you would like to be part of this project. Please sign the attached form and bring it back to school. Also, have your parent/guardian sign the attached form. I am excited to get to know you. If you have any questions, feel free to contact me.

Carly Beth Christensen (XXX)XXX-XXXX carly.beth.christensen@gmail.com

Title of the Project: **Voices of Anishinaabe Young People Research Project**

Instructions: Please ensure that you have read the information letter and the following seven points before signing the consent form.

1. I have read the information letter and understand the purpose of this research project.
2. I have asked the researcher any questions I have concerning the project.
3. I understand my specific role in the research project.
4. I understand that my name or my child's name will not be used in any report. However, because my child is taking photos meaning only partial anonymity is possible.
5. All efforts will be made to protect my child's confidentiality.
6. My decision and my child's decision to consent are entirely voluntary. I understand that I am free to withdraw my child at any time without giving a reason. I also understand that my child can withdraw consent at any time without consequences.
7. I realize that all the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. I understand that I have access to the data gathered in this project in relation to myself.

Student's signature:_____ Date:

Student's name: (Please Print)_____

Legal Guardian's signature:_____ Date:

Legal Guardian's name: (Please Print)_____

Please check the boxes that apply to you and provide your contact information.

☐ Yes, as the guardian of this child, I am willing to be individually interviewed at some point during the project.

Phone number: _____
Email address: _____

☐ Yes, I consent to allow my child to be involved in all the aspects of this project.

CONTACT DETAILS

Researcher
Carly Beth Christensen; carly.beth.christensen@gmail.com

Appendix F: Introducing my research to the young people

Objectives:
-Importance of visual literacy
-ways photographs communicate messages
-Teach some visual literacy strategies

Icebreaker: adapted from (PhotoVoice, 2008)
minutes Pick at least 1 activity.

Get into order
(Helps the group interact and work as a team)
The group has two minutes to get into a line according to a particular category, such as height, date of birthday, first letter of their first name; length or colour of hair etc.
If you want to make this physical and the group are comfortable with it you can do this standing on chairs!

Count to 10
(Good for getting a group to focus and concentrate)
The challenge is for the group to count to ten without more than one person talking at a time. Only one person can say each number, and anyone can say the next number at any time. The catch is that if two people say a number at the same time, they have to start again. This is harder and more fun than it might sound!

Friend or foe
(Good for building focus)
Each member of the group chooses a 'friend' and a 'foe' without indicating who they've chosen. After the game starts, each person must try to keep as close as possible to their chosen friend and as far away as possible from their foe. It leads to a room full of jostling, laughing people trying to flee their foe and chase their friend.

The remainder of the activities were done one-on-one with the young people

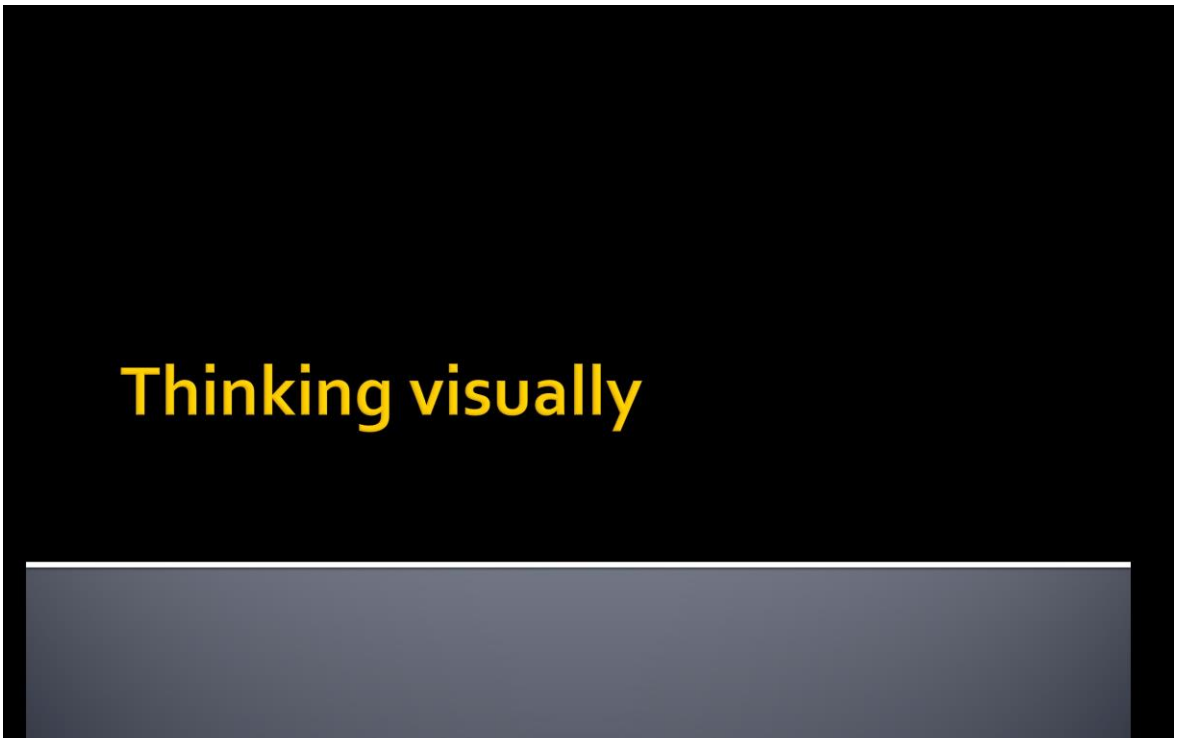
Activity 1: Introduce visual thinking- The "Selfie" world
- Why do people take Selfies? (feel better about themselves, get likes on social media, show people things they are doing/place they are visiting, look beautiful)
-When was the last time you took a photo? What was the photo of? Why did you take it? What do you think other people will think of your photo?

Activity 2: PowerPoint
-Use PowerPoint to show examples of photos that communicate different messages. (most of which are selfies).
- photos can inform, educate, or persuade a person or audience.
-Go back through the photos in the PowerPoint to categorise the photos purposes

Activity 3: Ways photos communicate messages
-introduce the different ways in which photographs can communicate ideas and meanings: through content and composition, colour, representation etc. Looking is culturally specific activity; the things we see and value are personal but also cultural.

-Discuss how the captions to the photos in the PowerPoint change or add to understanding the photos.

The PowerPoint presentation used is below.




Aid

Aboriginal Photovoice Examples

- Urban Aboriginal Youth
  https://vimeo.com/19907288
- Thunder Bay
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltnh27ksyyw
- BC youth
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilpzodTxfO8

Roles

- Students
  - Participate in 4 one-on-one interviews with me
  - Takes 2 sets of photos
    - 1) Who am I?
    - 2) Who do others think I am?
  - Write captions with Carly
  - Work together to make some form of public display
- Carly
  - Explain the project
  - Interview all the necessary people
  - Make sure the students still want to participate
  - Help plan the public display

Task 1: Who am I?

1. Over the next_____days/weeks, take photos of the important people, places, and things in your life.

2. Select the **photos** that you think show who you are. We will talk about each of these photos at our next interview.

You can take photos of anything that fits within the topic of "Who am I?". There are no wrong answers, just be sure you can tell my why you took each photo.

Here are some ideas of the things you could take photos of:
-important people (role models, family members, or friends)
- your community
-your school
- your workplace (if you have a job)
-things that scare you
-hobbies (things you like to do)
-talents (things your good at doing)
- favourite places to go
-things your proud of
-hardest things you do

Remember, BEFORE taking any photos of people ask their consent and and explain your project.

Task 2: How do people see me?

1. Over the next_____days/weeks, take photos that show how you think other people see you.

2. Select the **photos** that you think show how other people see you. We will talk about each of these photos at our next interview.

You can take photos of anything that you think goes along with the topic "How do people see me?". There are no wrong answers! Just make sure you can tell me why you took each photo.

Here are some ideas of who to think about when taking these photos:
-how do my family members see me?
-how do my teachers see me?
-how did the teacher I used to have see me?
-how do the locals in Kenora see me?
-how do my co-workers see me? (if you have a job)

Remember, BEFORE taking any photos of people ask for consent and and explain your project.

Next interview:_____

Appendix H: Young person interview protocols

Preliminary interview/camera training

*See young person circular consent script (Appendix A). Use circular consent scripts alongside interview protocols.

Interview Questions:

Personal Background

1. Can you describe the First Nations community that you live on?
    - *Prompt: What lake are you close to?*
    - *Probe: Who are the family members you live with? Who else lives in your home? How long have you lived there?*
    - *Probe: What kinds of activities to you do? (ice rink, gaming, trapping, or fishing?) Who do you do them with? (Any people from school?)*
2. Who would you consider your best friends? Please describe them.
    - *Prompt: Which of your family members/siblings/cousins are you closest to?*
    - *Prompt: Who(m) do you hangout with at school?*
3. What do you like to do for fun?
    - *Prompt: Hobbies, sports, outdoor activities, hunting, fishing, trapping, drumming, dancing, beading, etc.*
    - *Probe: What do you do for fun at home?*

Educational history

4. What schools have you went to before_____High School?
    - *Prompt: Where did you attend elementary school?*
    - *Prompt: Where did you start secondary school?*

5. Why did you choose to attend_____High School?
    - *Prompt: What made you leave your old school?*
    - *Probe: What was difficult about your old school?*
    - *Probe: What do you like about_____High School?*

6. At your previous school did you receive any extra help or have different requirements?
    - *Prompt: What type of diploma were you working towards? What level of courses did you take?*
    - *Prompt: Did you take tests in separate rooms? We you exempted from provincial testing?*
    - *Prompt: Did you spend time in a separate class within the school? Did you have a special education teacher?*

7. What does_____School/teacher's name do to help you?
    - *Prompt: How is Sioux Lake High School different from your other school(s)?*
    - *Probe: What do you find hard about school?*
    - *Probe: Are there things at school that you think you can't do?*

Functions of camera

-on the iPad/iPhone there are a few settings that change the photos. Do you ever use any of these settings? (flash, cropping, zoom, black and white, etc.)
-Can I show you a few of these settings?
-Do you have a working charger? Do you know approximately how long the battery lasts for?

Photo tips:
Today we are going to talk some normal mistakes that happen when taking photos.[152]

Can you think of any?
-Fingers or hair over the lens
-moving the camera when taking the photo
-taking photos that are too far away
-cutting off heads
The **4 F's of photography** are tips for taking photos that show what you wanted to show.[153]

- **Frame:** Choose what you want to be in your photo and what will be cut out. Think about the story you are trying to tell. Is there anything in the photo that you don't need to tell that story or emotion?
- **Follow through:** Make sure you don't move before the camera has taken the photo.
- **Focus:** After you take the photo, is it blurry? You might need to zoom in or be very still to get the photo.
- **Flash:** Think about the light in the photo. People facing bright light might squint their eyes. Try to take photos with the light behind people or things. You could also try putting the flash on the camera. However, when you use the flash, it takes longer for the camera to focus, so stand very still.

Third Party Consent
Ask the following questions:

- When would you not want to have your picture taken?
- Can you take pictures of other people without their knowledge?
- How do you ask someone to take their picture?

Role-play activity

-I ask them if I can take their photo "Hello, I am part of a research project about how Ojibway youth see the world. The researchers and other students like me would also see this photo of you. Is it okay for me to take the photo?"

- If the student says" yes" switch turns and they role-play.
- If the student says "no". Ask them why and have a discussion.

-Tell the students that they may ask you for more detail about your project and who I am. You can give them this contact card with my phone number. (Practice giving the card to me)
-Ask the student :

- Why is it important to tell them what the photos are being used for?

Practice
-Earlier in the group, we talked about photos. Remember how the same photo sometimes meant different things to your classmates?
-Photos can also be symbolic

Practice[154]

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[152] Adapted from (PhotoVoice, 2008, p. 83) .

[153] Adapted from (PhotoVoice, 2008).

[154] Adapted from (Cammock, Daw, & Struthers, 2013).

- Here is a list of 5 things let's brainstorm what you would take photos of. Find the following things:

- Something red
- Something loud
- Something warm
- Something that makes you happy
- Something that makes you sad

Introduce the first photovoice project

Photovoice Assignment 1: Who am I?
Read over the assignment sheet aloud (or read the sheet together). Place a copy of the sheet in front of the student and encourage them to follow along. Brainstorm a few things they might want to take photos of together. Remind them about asking for consent.

***Return** Student circular consent script (Appendix A)

Conclusion:
Thank you- summarise main points (member check)
-(reminder about third party consent)
-review the assignment
–collect contact information (what works best for you)
SET NEXT interview
Due date:
Next interview date:

Safeguarding: If anything we talk about makes you feel upset or very worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Demographic information
First Name:
Age:
Entering Fall 2016 Grade in School:
Race/ethnicity/tribal affiliation:
Gender:

Second young person interview—Photo Task 1[155] **"Who am I?"**
Hi_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to talk about the 10 photos you picked. These questions are just to help me see what you see in the photo. [156]

[155] The project includes two different photovoice tasks in an attempt to contextualise the students. The task 1 is more generic, whereas, the second task attempts to probe disability more directly.

[156] Identity is fluid and constantly contextually re-shaping. It is important to allow students to represent their own identity without my questions leading to the identity categories I think they apply. World Vision's manual for conducting photovoice projects with children who have disabilities explains, "Include activities that focus on experiences as people (with or without disabilities) and activities that focus on generic themes-food, fashion, hopes, dreams and aspirations etc." (Cammock et al., 2013, p. 19).

*See circular Consent Protocol "Second Student Interview" (see Appendix A)

Interview Questions

1) What do you see?
   Prompt: What is this picture of?
   Probe: What does it make you think of?
   Probe: How does it make you feel?

2) What is happening?
   Prompt: What is going on in this picture?
   Prompt: Why did you take this picture?
   Prompt: Who is in the picture and where was it taken?
   Probe: What were you thinking about when you took this picture?

3) What does this photo have to do with your life?
   Prompt: How does this relate to your life?
   Prompt: When you look at this picture how does it make you feel about yourself?
   Prompt: What are you trying to tell people about with this picture?

4) What do you want people to learn about you from looking at this picture?
Prompt: Why is this picture important for you to take?
Prompt: What do you think other people might think this picture is of?
   Prompt: Why is this picture important for others to look at?
   Prompt: What made you want to take this picture?

5) (If the picture concerns a social injustice, exclusion, barrier proceed with question)
What does this photo make you want to do/change?
Prompt: What do you think people who look at this photo could do to help you?

6) What would you like to name this photo?
   Prompt: What makes this picture important?
   Prompt: What do you want other people to think of when they see this photo?
   Prompt: For other people to look at this photo like you do, what might they need to know?

Repeat these questions for each of the selected photos. Watch for queues that the student needs a break. Remind them that they can go have a smoke break or eat a snack.

7) Is there anything you've learned from our talk today?

Introduce photo task 2—"How do other people see me?"
Read over the assignment sheet aloud. Place a copy of the sheet in front of the student and encourage them to follow along. Discuss any ideas they have and photos they might want to take.

***Return** to Circular Consent "Second student interview" section of Appendix A

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Conclusion
-summarise main points (member checking)
-remind them to ask for third party consent
-review the photovoice Task 2

Next interview date:_____Due date for photo task 2: _____

Third young person interview- Photovoice Task 2 "How do people see me?"

Hi_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to talk about the 10 photos you picked. These questions are just to help me see what you see in the photo.

*See circular Consent Protocol "Third Student Interview" (see Appendix A)

Interview Questions

8) What do you see?
Prompt: What is this picture of?
Probe: What does it make you think of?
Probe: How does it make you feel?

9) What is happening?
Prompt: What is going on in this picture?
Prompt: Why did you take this picture?
Prompt: Who is in the picture and where was it taken?
Probe: What were you thinking about when you took this picture?

10) What does this photo have to do with your life?
Prompt: How does this relate to your life?
Prompt: When you look at this picture how does it make you feel about yourself?
Prompt: What are you trying to tell people about with this picture?

11) What do you want people to learn about you from looking at this picture?
Prompt: Why is this picture important for you to take?
Prompt: What do you think other people might think this picture is of?
Prompt: Why is this picture important for others to look at?
Prompt: What made you want to take this picture?

12) (If the picture concerns a social injustice, exclusion, barrier proceed with question)
What does this photo make you want to do/change?
Prompt: What do you think people who look at this photo could do to help you?

13) What would you like to name this photo?
Prompt: What makes this picture important?
Prompt: What do you want other people to think of when they see this photo?
Prompt: For other people to look at this photo like you do, what might they need to know?

Repeat these questions for each of the selected photos. Watch for queues that the student needs a break. Remind them that they can go have a smoke break or eat a snack.

14) Is there anything you've learned from our talk today?

Introduce talking circles
Explain what the talking circle will entail and establish that their participation is voluntary. How can I make the circle the most comfortable for you? Is there anyone in the group you are uncomfortable with?

Explain the next assignment
You need to select 3 photos from the first photovoice task and this task. These photos should be ones that you are comfortable talking about in the circle and showing to your peers. Discuss what photos he/she could select and why.
Explain that each photo he/she selects will need a caption. Show examples of a caption. Discuss if she/he would rather write their own captions or generate the captions with their classmates during the talking circles. If she/he decides to generate her/his captions prior to the talking circle, I will make sure they have the necessary materials and help. Generating captions may require individual one-on-one assistance depending on the literacy levels of the students involved.

***Return** to Circular Consent "Third student interview" section of Appendix A

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Conclusion
-summarise main points (member checking)
-remind them to ask for third party consent
-review the photovoice Task 2

Fourth Student interview- Post photovoice/art Exhibit/ Powwow

Hi_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to talk about what you thought about the photovoice, art, Powwow and Feast event. I am also going

to ask you about what you thought about participating in the overall project. I just want to hear about your experience.
*See circular Consent Protocol "Fourth young person interview" (see Appendix A)

Interview Questions

What did you put into the exhibit?
Prompt: How many photos did you put into the exhibit?
Prompt: What art work did you display?
Prompt: How did you decided what to bring in for the exhibit?

What happened at the exhibit?
Prompt: Who came to the event?
Prompt: What Ojibway practices had to occur before the Powwow could start?
Prompt: Did anything surprise you at the exhibit?
Prompt: Do you have any stories from the exhibit that you'd like to share?

Who came to the event?
Prompt: Did you personally invite people to attend?
Prompt: What community members came to the event?
Prompt: Were you surprised by who came to the even? Is so, who?
Prompt: Were you interviewed by the newspaper? If so, tell me about it.

What was your favourite part of the exhibit?
Prompt: Did you enjoy viewing it with just your classmates?
Prompt: Did you enjoy viewing it with your guests?
Prompt: Did you dance during the powwow?

What did you do during the exhibit?
Prompt: Did you dance and feast during the powwow?
Prompt: Did community members ask you about your photos and art?
Prompt: What did you think this event was going to be like?

Have you ever attended an event like this that featured your work?
Prompt: Did you ever submit work to an elementary exhibit or show?
Prompt: Have you been to a museum before? If yes, was there Ojibway things in that museum?

How did the exhibit make you feel?
Prompt: Were you nervous? If so, why?
Prompt: How did the other students feel about the event?
Prompt: Was this an emotional event for you? Did you cry?

How do you think the guest responded?
Prompt: What do you think the guests might have learned?
Prompt: What did your guests learn?
Prompt: Did any community members or strangers ask you about your work?

How did your classmate react to the event?
Prompt: Did any of your friends from class say anything to you about the photos?
Prompt: How do you think your classmates felt about the event?

Would you suggest that other students should participate in photovoice projects? Why?
Prompt: Has it helped you this year?
Prompt: Did you feel valued and listened to?
Prompt: Did you feel like your voice was important?

What did you learn from participating in the entire project?
Prompt: Did you learn anything about yourself?
Prompt: Did it effect how you view your classmates?
Prompt: Has it effected how you view your future? If so, how?

How has participating in this project with me helped you this year?
Prompt: Did you come to school more often?
Prompt: Did you come on the adventure camp?
Prompt: Did the interviews help you with things in your life?
Prompt: Did seeing your classmates' photos help you? If so, how?

Did participating in this project help you to share your ideas (voice)? If so, how?
Prompt: Did talking photos make it easier to share your ideas?
Prompt: How did organising a community event help you to speak up?

Is there anyone else you want to share these photos with?
Prompt: Is there anyone else or places you would like to display these photos?
Prompt: What do you think we could still do with the photos?

What has this project inspired you to do or become?
Prompt: Did it make you feel like you were less alone?
Prompt: Did it make you realise you enjoy art/photography?

Has participating in this project inspired you to change something about the world?
Prompt: What did you learn about issues facing First Nations youth?
Prompt: What did you learn about local government?

What did I teach you this year?
Prompt: What did I teach you this year?
Prompt: What was your favourite thing we did together?
Prompt: How will you remember me?
Do you have anything else you would like to tell me about being in this project?

Discuss future dissemination
I will be going back to England after graduation. All of next year I will be writing up a big report for my professors. During this time, I could write short reports that could be published in journal or even blogs on the internet. I am asking for your permission to use the photos that you submitted. I will not be listing your name. It will be changed. However, the location of the school might be recognizable.

Ask for permanent address/contact information. Provide the students with my email.

***Return** to Circular Consent "Second student interview" section of Appendix A

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organization is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people. (pass out flyer)

Conclusion
-summarise main points (member checking)

THANK YOU!!!!!

Appendix I: Family member interview protocols

First Interview

*See "Circular consent: Guardian script" (see Appendix B).

Preliminary Questions:
Personal Background:
Where do you live? How long have you lived here? Who lives in your home? Tell me about these people/your children. What responsibilities do you have on the community? Could you tell me about what you do on an average day?

Personal Background
Can you describe the First Nations community (Reserve) that you live on?
Prompt: Can you describe what the community looks like? (Close to water? Mining? Gaming or fishing?)
Prompt: How many people live in the community?

What are the main activities in your community?
Prompt: Hunting, trapping, logging, service jobs, etc.?
Prompt: Feasts, Powwows, Spring Hunts, Sweats, Shaking Tents, Bingo, Hockey, greenhouse planting, etc.?
Prompt: What buildings and services are located within the community?

What activities/services does your community have specifically for high school students aged 14-18?
Prompt: Summer activities, addiction counselling, tutoring, literacy programming, hockey, etc.

Schooling in the community
Where did you attend school?
Probe: How would you describe your overall experience in the system schools?
Probe: Do you consider your experiences typical of those individuals who attended the same school as you?

Which Residential Schools did your people/you attend?
Probe: Where was this school located? Which domination ran this school? Probe: When did your community gain the right to control education?

What do you think the impact of residential schooling on parents today?
Prompt: Parental involvement, engagement with school professionals, literacy levels, loss of Ojibway language, changes in parenting methods etc.
Probe: What do schools signify to you?

What are the differences between residential schooling and school today?
Prompt: Aboriginal languages taught, no longer residential, Aboriginal self-governance of community schools, etc.

Why did your community stop providing school after obtaining self-governance?
Prompt: Is the community too small to offer this service?

Student's school background

What is your teenager's experience in this school?

Prompt: Do she/he like attending this school?
Probe: What do you think about this school?
Probe: Do you attend any of the school events?
Probe: What roles do you have with the school? (organise feasts, powwows, smudges, sweats, drumming, beading, etc.)

How did you decide to enrol your teenager in_____High School?

Prompt: What was hard/bad about their previous secondary school?
Prompt: What did you think was unique/good about_____(High School)?
Probe: Did the fact that the school is Ojibway organised impact your choice?

Can you tell me about_____'s school history?

Prompt: What schools has she/he attended?
Probe: What is the age of your teenager and what grade are they working on?

Normalcy/disability

I would like to ask you some question about the hardships and difficulties your child may have. [157]

Does your child having any physical conditions (like epilepsy, diabetes, sight loss)?

Mobility

Does (name) use any equipment or need help walking?

Probe: If yes, could you explain this difficulty? (What type of help or equipment does she/he use?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Sight

Does (name) have difficulty seeing?

Prompt: Does (name) wear glasses?
Probe: What do you do to help this student with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Hearing

Does (name) have difficulty hearing sounds like peoples' voices or music?
If yes, could you explain this difficult to me?

Prompt: How difficult is it for him/her to hear at school?
Prompt: Does this difficulty make it hard for him/her to go to events like films, Powwows?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Speech and language

When (name) speaks does your family have a hard time understanding him/her?

Probe: If yes, what things do you do to help him/her to be understood?

[157] Adapted from the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) within the section "Childhood Functioning and Disability (Ages 5-17) (UNICEF, 2016). The MICS attempt to operatise the *International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF)*, which are theoretically underpinned by a bio-psycho-social model of disability. This shifts the focus from limitations to functionality. I have attempted to adapt the MICS approach to questioning family concerning disability to my research site.

Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Did she/he have dental surgery as a child to remove decayed teeth?
Probe: If yes, how did this affect their ability to speak? (Pronouncing words, delayed speech development)
Probe: Did she/he struggle to sound out words?

Self care
Does_(name) have difficulty with things like dressing him/herself, showering, or eating?
If yes, could you explain how difficult this is for (name)?
Prompt: Can (name) do some of these tasks without help?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?

Learning/Development
Compared to other young people of the same age, living in (community), does (name) have a harder time learning things?
If yes, could you tell me an example of when you noticed this difference?
Prompt: Did the school notify you concerned about_____progress? What did the school say was the issue?
Prompt: Are there tasks, chores or activities (hunting, driving a boat, compass navigation, trapping, etc,) that are more challenging for_____than other cousins his/her age?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

When compared to other teenagers of the same age in your community, does (name) struggle more with reading and writing?
Prompt: Does she/he need help reading things for school?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Compared with other young people of the same age, living in (community), does (name) have a hard time remember things?
If yes, could you tell me an example of the types of things she/he have a hard time remembering?
Prompt: Did she/he have a hard time learning how to spell or memorising times tables (multiplication tables)?
Probe: What do you do to help this student with this?

Does (name) have a hard time remember the order of tasks at home?
If yes, could you give me an example of this.
Prompt: For example, when going fishing does_____mix up the steps of putting in the hook or cleaning the fish?

Mental Health
Does (name) seem anxious, nervous or worried?
Probe: How of often does_____feel like this? (daily, weekly, monthly). Prompt: What things might cause you to think that she/he is anxious, nervous, or worried?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?

How often does (name) seem sad or even depressed? (daily, weekly, monthly, monthly, never).

Prompt: Can you tell me about a time when_____seemed sad.
Probe: Has_____ever been told by a medical professional that they are depressed?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Does she/he participate in activities or behaviours that hurt herself/himself?

Prompt: Activities could include things like sniffing gasoline/glue, drinking alcohol, using harder drugs, self-harm(cutting, burning, eating disorders).
Probe: If yes, could you describe these behaviours/activities?
Probe: How do these behaviours/activities affect her/his life?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Behavioural

Compared with other young people of the same age, living in (community), does (name), have a hard time controlling his/her behaviour?

Prompt: Does she/he have outbursts of anger when little things don't go right?
Prompt: Does she/he have a hard time losing games or being told he/she is wrong? Is he/she bossy/manipulative in these situations?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Does (name) interact appropriately with other young people his/her age?

Prompt: doesn't touch/hug people too much, follows the conversation, adds to conversations appropriately, engages with adults, younger children and his peers?
Probe: Are you ever worried about how she/he might behave?
Probe: Has the school ever complained about she/he behaviour? Has she/he ever been expelled or suspended for behavioural issues?

Does (name) have difficultly focusing, even on an activity he/she enjoys?

Prompt: Does (name) switch what they are doing (video games, hockey, listening to music) without warning (in the middle of what they are doing)?
Probe: has a medical professional, teacher or someone in the community ever told your child that they are hyperactive?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?
Probe: What does the school do to meet this need? What more could the school do?

Does (name) have a harder time, when compared to other young people of the same age, seeing how things they do will lead to consequences/outcomes? If yes, do you have any examples you would share with me?

Prompt: Does (name) do things without thinking about how they might be dangerous or hurt themselves/others?
Probe: What do you do to help your child with this?

Does (name) have difficulty when plans change?

Prompt: Does he/she get upset when things don't go the way they thought they would?
Probe: Do you have any examples of when this happened?
Probe: Do you think this behaviour more/less/or the same as your other children/other young people of the same age?

Aspirations

What are some of the things that he/she is good at/likes doing?
Prompt: What are some of his/her hobbies?
Probe: How would you describe his/her personality?

When you think of a good life as an adult for (name)?
Prompt: What things are most important?
Prompt: What traits to you think she/he should have as a grown up?
Probe: How do you want Ojibway traditions to be a part of (influence) them?

What do you hope your child becomes in their future?
Prompt: Educational, vocational, relationship, Ojibway heritage goals
Probe: Why do you think she/he is a good outcome for you child?

Who do you think will be of the greatest help in (name) reaching this future?
Prompt: Teachers, family members, friends, role models, the Elders, etc.
Probe: In what ways will these people be helpful?

What might make reaching this future hard for him/her?
Prompt: Does she/he have limitations (academic, social, addictions)?
Prompt: What makes life difficult for (name)?
Prompt: What struggles does (name) have? (Illness, school attendance, loneliness, addiction, racism, etc.)

Factors of influence: areas of exclusion?

What responsibilities does your child have in your house?
Prompt: Does she/he have chores? (Wood cutting, fire, cleaning, washing clothes)
Prompt: Does she/he take care of younger children?
Probe: Are there task you wish she/he could do, but that they are unable of doing?

What activities, jobs, or events does your child do in your community?
Prompt: Ceremonies, hunting, gathering food, mentoring, etc.
Probe: Are there times your child is not able to participate?

Is there activities in your community that your child would like to do, but is unable to do? If yes, why?
Prompt: What has made it so he/she can't be part of this activity? (Money, ability, behavioural issues, group dynamics, court restraining orders/probation guidelines).

Who do you consider (name's) friends to be?
Prompt: Friends could include family members, school classmates, work people, etc.
Probe: Does she/he have difficulty making friends?
Probe: Are (name's) friends of the same age, older, younger?
Probe: Would she/he rather be around adults than people his/her own age?

Does (name) have a paid job?
Probe: If yes, what is this job and which community is the job in?
Probe: If yes, what has changed since she/he started working?
Probe: If no, is this a something you think she/he can do?

Does she/he have a divers licence? (If the student is 16+ years old)

Probe: If not, what has stopped her/him from getting it?

Probe: Is not having a licence something that will limit her/his future?

You think that community has programmes or members that try to help your child specifically?

Prompt: Elders visit, outdoor training, community jobs, Ojibway ceremonies, youth programming, and addiction recovery programming.

What more could your community do to help your child?

Prompt: School funding, work placement, health awareness, grief/trauma counselling, formalised assessments/medical tests, etc.

Prompt: Do their programmes need to change so that your teenager could be part of them?

What do you think would improve the school? How could it be better?

Prompt: What needs does your child have that the school is not meeting?

Prompt: What issues might children in your community have that the school should help with?

Probe: Do you think she/he is proud of attending_____High School? Is there a sense of school pride? Why do you think this?

Is there anything else you would like to add that might better help me understand your child?

School background (these questions will be asked using discretion—it maybe better to ask questions about past schooling experiences informally).

Where did you attend school as a child and teenager?

Did you like school?

How is SLSS different from your previous schooling experiences?

Have you completed any additional training? Specialised courses? Is that something you might consider in the future?

Is there anything you've learned that was new from our talk today?

Is there anything you have questions about?

*Refer back to "Circular consent: Teacher script" (see Appendix C)

Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that that your young persom seems to be off or have any out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Conclusion:

Thank you

summarise main points (member checking)

–collect contact information (what works best for you)

Second family member interview-Post photovoice/art Exhibit/ Powwow

Hi_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to talk about what you thought about the photovoice, art, Powwow and Feast event. I am also going to ask you about what you thought about participating in the overall project. I just want to hear about your experience.
*See circular Consent Protocol (see Appendix B).

Interview Questions

What did you think of the powwow photo exhibit?
Prompt: Did community members ask you about the photos and art?
Prompt: What did you think this event was going to be like?

What did you think of having a powwow be part of the event?
Prompt: Have you been to a powwow inside of a school?
Prompt: What does a powwow mean to you?
Prompt: What did you wear to the event? Is that significant?

What happened at the exhibit?
Prompt: Who came to the event?
Prompt: What Anishinaabe practices had to occur before the Powwow could start?
Prompt: Did anything surprise you at the exhibit?
Prompt: Do you have any stories from the exhibit that you'd like to share?

Who came to the event?
Prompt: Did_____personally invite people to attend?
Prompt: What community members came to the event?
Prompt: Were you surprised by who came to the even? Is so, who?

What was your favourite part of the exhibit?
Prompt: Did you notice the art, beading, and drums on display?
Prompt: Did you enjoy viewing it alongside the family members and community?
Prompt: What did you get out of the event?

How did the exhibit make you feel?
Prompt: Were you nervous? If so, why?
Prompt: How did the school staff and fellow teachers feel about the event?
Prompt: Was this an emotional event for you?

What was your favourite photo?
Prompt: What did this photo teach you?
Prompt: Why was this your favourite photo?
Prompt: Did this photo relate to your life? If yes, in what ways?

How has participating in this project helped_____this year?
Prompt: What behavioural changes have you noticed?
Prompt: What did_____say about the project with you at home?
Prompt: Has this project been what you expected after we first spoke?

Would you suggest that other young people should participate in photovoice projects? Why?

Prompt: Has it helped your students year? If yes, in what ways?

Prompt: Had you ever heard of photovoice before?

Prompt: Have you ever participated in research before?

What did the powwow event teach you and your family?

Prompt: What touched you about the powwow event?

Prompt: What do you think you'll remember from this event next year?

Do you have anything else you would like to tell me about being in this project?

Discuss future dissemination

I will be going back to England after graduation. All of next year I will be writing up a big report for my professors. During this time, I could write short reports that could be published in journal or even blogs on the internet. I am asking for your permission to use the photos that you submitted. I will not be listing your name. It will be changed. However, the location of the school might be recognizable.

Ask for permanent address/contact information. Provide the students with my email.

***Return** to Circular Consent Appendix B.

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

Conclusion

-summarise main points (member checking)

THANK YOU!!!!!

Appendix J: Teacher interview protocols

First Teacher Interview

*See "Circular consent: Teacher script" (see Appendix C)

Preliminary questions:
Personal Background:
How long have you worked this job? What qualifications do you have for this position? Have you worked in other educational settings?
Can you provide a brief description of a typical day? How long have you known____(student's name)?

Student Needs and school accommodations
Physical
Does she/he have any visual, hearing or motor issues?
Probe: If yes, how do these conditions impact them at school (their educational outcomes)?
Does she/he have any physical conditions (like epilepsy, diabetes, sight loss)?
Probe: If yes, how do these conditions impact them at school (their educational outcomes)?
Probe: What do you do to accommodate this need?

Speech/language
Expressive language
When_____(name) speaks do you or her/his classmates have a hard time understanding him/her?
Probe: If yes, what things do you do to help him/her to be understood?
Probe: In your opinion, is she/he aware of this difference? If yes, how does this awareness impact them (ie. confidence)?

Compared to other students of her/his same age and grade level, does_____(name) have a more limited vocabulary?
Prompt: Does she/he often struggle to 'find the right word' in speech?
Probe: Does she/he speak is short sentences?
Probe: When she/he speaks are there frequent grammatical errors?
Probe: What things do you do to help her/him in this area?
Probe: In your opinion, is she/he aware of this difference? If yes, how does this awareness impact them (ie. confidence)?

Receptive language
Compared to other students of her/his same age and grade level, does_____(name) have a hard time understanding your instructions?
Prompt: Does she/he often not follow what you have said?
Probe: Is this because they have not comprehended what you have asked?
Probe: What do you do to accommodate this need?
Probe: In your opinion, is she/he aware of this difference? If yes, how does this awareness impact them (ie. confidence)?

Written language

Compared to other students of her/his same age and grade level, is_____(name) unable to read some words until they hear the word aloud? (decoding issues)

Prompt: Does she/he have a hard time sounding out words?
Prompt: Does she/he have a hard time reading and writing words that don't follow phonics rules?
Probe: Is she/he unwilling to read aloud to you or to the class?
Probe: What do you do to accommodate this need?

Does she/he bring up irrelevant information when asked questions about text they have read?

Probe: Are they unable to retell the story sequentially?
Probe: Is she/he able to represent text they've read visually (draw a carton, graphic organiser)?
Probe: What do you do to accommodate this need?
Probe: In your opinion, is she/he aware of this difference? If yes, how does this awareness impact them (ie. confidence)?

Behavioural

Do you have classroom behaviour issues with_____?

Probe: If yes, can you describe these issues?
Prompt: These issues may include avoidance of work, agitating other students, speaking out of turn, not engaging in activities, apathy towards work, etc.
Probe: What do you do to accommodate this need?

When a learning task is challenging for them, what do they do?

Prompt: Does she/he use avoidance tactics?
Prompt: Does she/he ask for help?
Probe: Is she/he reluctant to trying new tasks or learning new things?

Compared to other students of her/his same age and grade level, does_____(name) have difficultly focusing, even on an activity he/she enjoys?

Prompt: Do sounds or visual stimuli easily distract him/her?
Prompt: Does she/he wander around the classroom or school when they are supposed to be working?
Probe: What do you do to accommodate this need?
Probe: In your opinion, is she/he aware of this difference? If yes, how does this awareness impact them (ie. confidence)?

Compared to other students of her/his same age and grade level, does_____(name) have a hard time seeing how things they do will lead to consequences/outcomes? If yes, do you have any examples you would share with me?

Prompt: Does_____(name) do things without thinking about how they might be dangerous or hurt themselves/others?
Probe? Does she/he treat other people inappropriately and expect these people to forgive them instantly?
Probe: What do you do to help her/him to realise cause and affect relationships?
Probe: In your opinion, is she/he aware of this difference? If yes, how does this awareness impact them (ie. confidence)?

Does_____interact appropriately with other young people his/her same age?

Prompt: doesn't touch/hug people too much, follows the conversation, adds to conversations appropriately, engages with adults, younger children and his peers?

Prompt: Does she/he try to agitate or provoke other students?
Probe: What do you do to help her/him to learn how to appropriately interact with others?
Probe: Are you ever worried about how_____might treat their classmates?

Compared to other students of her/his same age and grade level, does_____(name) have a hard time controlling his/her behaviour?
Prompt: Is she/he easily annoyed or angered?
Prompt: Does _____have a hard time losing games or being told he/she is wrong? Is he/she bossy/manipulative in these situations?
Probe: What do you do to help him/her to manage her/his own behaviours?

Cultural factors (potentially influencing school performance)

Do you think the Ojibway cultural beliefs and values result in the behavioural expectations at school being different from those at home and in their First Nations community?
Prompt: For example the principal of non-interference, striving for consensus, non-hierarchal collectivism, conceptions of authority, or restorative justice.
Probe: Do these Ojibway expectations differ from yours in the classroom?
Probe: Do you think that these differing behavioural expectations impact the educational outcomes of _____(name)?

Do you think Ojibway cultural beliefs concerning the purpose of school/education differ from your beliefs?
Prompt: For example, is school seen as a way to occupy youth's time, gain basic skills, keep them out of jail, revitalise Ojibway culture?
Probe: If these purposes are different, do you think that this impacts the students' ability to succeed in school?

Do certain cultural practices interfere with_____(name) ability to be successful in school?
Prompt: These activities could include things like hunts, wild rice harvests, and wakes.
Probe: If yes, can you describe how they impact the student's progress?

Environmental/economic disadvantage
Does_____(name) have issues with regular school attendance?
Probe: If yes, why?

Does she/he have a social worker?
Probe: Do you know what led to this student having a worker?
Probe: Does this social worker consult with you?
Probe: What type of relationship does the student have with the worker?

To your knowledge has she/he been a victim of trauma?
Prompt: Have they been a witness in court?
Prompt: Has a loved one committed suicide or gone missing?
Prompt: Has she/he been a victim of abuse?
Probe: How do you think these experiences influence their performance at school?
Probe: What do you do to help with this situation?

In your opinion, does she/he face food insecurity?

Prompt: Since the school provides meals and snacks, have you noticed any tendencies to hoard food?
Prompt: Has the student ever discussed not having food at home with you?
Probe: What do you do to help with this situation?

What is the housing situation for this student?
Prompt: Does the student live in substandard housing?
Prompt: Who does this student live with?
Prompt: Does the student talk about moving houses/ changing addresses frequently?
Probe: Does it impact their ability to succeed in school?
Probe: Do you do anything to help with this situation?

How supportive do you think her/his family is of_____'s (name) education?
Prompt: Have their parents/guardian come to school Powwows?
Prompt: If you have communicated with them, how did they respond?

Mental Health
Does_____seem anxious, nervous or worried?
Probe: How often does_____feel like this? (daily, weekly, monthly).
Prompt: What things might cause you to think that she/he is anxious, nervous, or worried?

How often does_____seem sad or even depressed? (daily, weekly, monthly, monthly, never).
Prompt: Can you tell me about a time when_____seemed sad.
Probe: Has_____ever been told by a medical professional that they are depressed?

Does she/he participate in activities or behaviours that hurt herself/himself?
Prompt: Activities could include things like sniffing gasoline/glue, drinking alcohol, using harder drugs, self-harm(cutting, burning, eating disorders).
Probe: If yes, could you describe these behaviours/activities?
Probe: How do these behaviours/activities affect their success at school?

Factors of potential influence
School structure
How did you figure out this student's needs?
Prompt: Did you use any special education diagnostic models?

Was there paperwork from her/his previous school that documented special education needs?
Prompt: Did the student have an IEP from the provincial school?
Probe: If yes, did this paperwork influence how you treat her/him?

Do you think this is the best setting for this student?
Prompt: What makes this environment conducive with her/his needs?
Prompt: What aspects of this environment might not be helpful for this student?

Are there additional needs that she/he has that you wish you could meet?
Prompt: Maybe the student has needs that require specialised support, drug rehab, counselling, social interaction needs, etc.

I gather for the setup of your school that you don't access special education needs, that's interesting because provincially schools do. Could you tell me more about this?

Probe: What is positive about your setup?
Probe: What are some of the challenges of your setup?
Probe: Are you trying to figure out an Ojibway approach to dealing with difference in the classroom?

How do think the formal label of special education needs could impact the students and their parents?

Prompt: Is the label negatively stigmatised?
Prompt: Is the assessment seen as potentially racist practice?

How do you think attending this school has impacted her/his identity?

Prompt: Does he/she think they are a failure because they couldn't stay in the provincial school?
Prompt: Is he/she proud of being at this new school?
Prompt: Do they wear the school sweaters and hats in public?
Probe: Do you think the Ojibway control of the school impacts his/her feeling about being Ojibway?

Teacher perceptions of abilities

What do you consider an ideal outcome for him/her after they graduate?

Prompt: Is the programme targeting work placements, trade apprenticeships, college courses, or university courses?
Probe: Do you offer the level and range of courses required for each of these outcomes?
Probe: If not, why aren't these courses available?

What do you think might stop_____from reaching this outcome?

Prompt: relationships with people, self-doubt, self-destructive behaviours, home life, illegal activities, special education needs, etc.

Relationships

Who do you think helps_____to be successful in school?

Prompt: teachers, peers, family members, social workers, role models

Are there any people in_____life that hinder their success?

Prompt: These people may hinder the student in one way but be helpful in other ways.

Who do you consider_____friends to be?

Prompt: Friends could include family members, Elders, school classmates, work people, etc.
Probe: Does_____have difficulty making friends?
Probe: Are his/her friends of the same age, older, younger?
Probe: Would he/she rather be around adults than people his/her age?

Cultural practices/identity

What Ojibway programming at the school does she/he participate in?

Prompt: Is she/he involved in the school's Powwows? If yes, in what way?
Prompt: Does she/he participate in smudges at school?
Prompt: During the Ojibway-led outdoors camps, what does she/he participate in?

Is she/he involved in events or leadership roles in their First Nations community?

Prompt: Is she/he a member of the Band Youth Council?
Probe: Are there any Ojibway ceremonies or activities that she/he has talked about at school?

How do you think participating in these Ojibway-based programmes influences her/him?
Prompt: Has she/he ever told you how they felt after participating? Have you ever noticed a change in behaviour after these events?
Probe: Is she/he happy to participate in these things?

Is there anything else you would like to add that might better help me understand this student?

Is there anything you've learned that was new from our talk today?

Is there anything you have questions about?

*Refer back to "Circular consent: Teacher script" (see Appendix C)

Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that any of the students involved in this project have any out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Conclusion:
Thank you
summarise main points (member checking)
–collect contact information (what works best for you)

Second teacher interview-Post photovoice/art Exhibit/ Powwow

Hi_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to talk about what you thought about the photovoice, art, Powwow and Feast event. I am also going to ask you about what you thought about participating in the overall project. I just want to hear about your experience.
*See circular Consent Protocol (see Appendix C)

Interview Questions

What did you do during the exhibit?
Prompt: Did you have specific organisational jobs?
Prompt: Did community members ask you about the photos and art?
Prompt: What did you think this event was going to be like?

What happened at the exhibit?
Prompt: Who came to the event?
Prompt: What Ojibway practices had to occur before the Powwow could start?
Prompt: Did anything surprise you at the exhibit?
Prompt: Do you have any stories from the exhibit that you'd like to share?

Who came to the event?
Prompt: Did you personally invite people to attend?
Prompt: What community members came to the event?

Prompt: Were you surprised by who came to the even? Is so, who?

What was your favourite part of the exhibit?

Prompt: Did you enjoy helping the young people set up?
Prompt: Did you enjoy viewing it alongside the family members and community?
Prompt: What did you get out of the event?

How did the exhibit make you feel?

Prompt: Were you nervous? If so, why?
Prompt: How did the school staff and fellow teachers feel about the event?
Prompt: Was this an emotional event for you?

How did your students react to the event?

Prompt: Did any of the students (case study participants or others) say anything to you about the photos?
Prompt: How do you think your students felt about the event?
Prompt: What do you think the purpose of a powwow is?

Would you suggest that other students should participate in photovoice projects? Why?

Prompt: Has it helped your students year? If yes, in what ways?
Prompt: Had you ever heard of photovoice before?
Prompt: Have you ever participated in research before?

How has participating in this project with me helped you this year?

Prompt: Did the interviews help you reflect on your classroom?
Prompt: Did seeing your students' photos help you? If so, how?
Prompt: How did including the whole high school and primary school impact your students?

What did I teach you this year?

Prompt: What did I teach you this year?
Prompt: What was your favourite thing we did together?
Prompt: How will you remember me?

Do you have anything else you would like to tell me about being in this project?

Discuss future dissemination

I will be going back to England after graduation. All of next year I will be writing up a big report for my professors. During this time, I could write short reports that could be published in journal or even blogs on the internet. I am asking for your permission to use the photos that you submitted. I will not be listing your name. It will be changed. However, the location of the school might be recognizable.

Ask for permanent address/contact information. Provide the students with my email.

***Return** to Circular Consent Appendix C.

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

Conclusion
-summarise main points (member checking)

THANK YOU!!!!!

Appendix K: Elder interview protocols

Hello_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to be talking about_____High School.
*See "Circular consent: Chief/elder script Appendix D

Interview Questions:
Personal Background
Can you describe the First Nations community (Reservation) that you live on?
Prompt: Can you describe what the community looks like? (Close to water? Mining? Gaming or fishing?)
Prompt: How many people live in the community?

What are the main activities in your community?
Prompt: Hunting, trapping, logging, service jobs, etc.?
Prompt: Feasts, Powwows, Spring Hunts, Sweats, Shaking Tents, Bingo, Hockey, greenhouse planting, etc.?
Prompt: What buildings and services are located within the community?

What activities/services does your community have specifically for high school students aged 14-18?
Prompt: Summer activities, addiction counselling, tutoring, literacy programming, hockey, etc.

Schooling in the community
Where did you attend school?
Probe: How would you describe your overall experience in the system schools?
Probe: Do you consider your experiences typical of those individuals who attended the same school as you?

Which Residential Schools did your people/you attend?
Probe: Where was this school located? Which domination ran this school? Probe: When did your community gain the right to control education?

What do you think the impact of residential schooling on parents today?
Prompt: Parental involvement, engagement with school professionals, literacy levels, loss of Ojibway language, changes in parenting methods etc.
Probe: What do schools signify to you?

What are the differences between residential schooling and school today?
Prompt: Aboriginal languages taught, not longer residential, Aboriginal self-governance of community schools, etc.

Why did your community stop providing school after obtaining self-governance?
Prompt: Is the community too small to offer this service?
Probe: At the time, did the Band Council believe the provincial schools would be able to provide a stronger programme?

What do you think have been the consequences of not having a school ran by your community?

Prompt: Racism, low graduation rates, students leaving the community as adults, less involvement in community activities, connection with Elders, etc.?

What do you think the purposes of schooling are for students from your community?
Prompt: What do you consider the ideal outcome for students from your community?
Prompt: For example, is school seen as a way to occupy youth's time, gain basic skills, keep them out of jail, revitalise Ojibway culture?
Probe: If these purposes are different at the school they are attending, how do you think this could impact your students?

What role have you played in the creation of this new school?
Prompt: What issues is it trying to resolve?
Prompt: What makes this school unique?
Probe: Why was_____High School created?
Probe: What is your vision for_____High School?

School responses to students' needs

After speaking to parents from your community they often talked about how few teenagers graduate from secondary school. In your opinion, what may make it difficult for students from your community to complete secondary school?
Prompt: Internal factors- addiction, learning issues, FASD, behaviours, illegal activities
Prompt: External factors- school structure (curriculum, policies, teachers), peers, home life, poverty cultural differences etc.

What does the community do to help students succeed in secondary school?
Prompt: Free childcare for teenage moms, tutoring, summer academic camps, etc.
Probe: Does the community assign an Elder to befriend students that are facing difficulties?

I'd like to talk about how you think schools should respond to the specific difficulties secondary school youth from your community may face.

Economic/Environmental disadvantage
What types of economic disadvantages might students from this community be dealing with?
Prompt: Could include substandard overcrowded housing, food insecurity, or parents' unemployment?
Probe: How could these things impact the level of achievement for students at school?

Probe: In your opinion, what could schools do to help students facing these challenges?

Does your community have their own foster care services?
Probe: If no, what provincial town do your children get placed in?
Prompt: What do you think the impact of these placements outside of the community has on the child?

What is the biggest health challenge facing your community?
Prompt: Do you consider FASD to be common in your community?
Probe: How to you think FASD impacts school success?
Probe: What do schools to do help these students?

Probe: What more could schools do to help these students?

Prompt: How widespread to you think baby bottle tooth decay in your community?

Prompt: If yes, after the dental surgery, what are the long-term consequences that children face because of this? (Speech delays, reading issues, lowered self-esteem).

Prompt: Do you think schools help teenage mothers from your community in completing secondary school?

Probe: What more could schools do to help these mothers?

Prompt: Is there day care services? Or are alternative education classrooms available to these young women?

Probe: Does the community encourage these young women to raise their children?

Probe: Do you think that community expects teenage mother to continue and complete secondary school?

Prompt: Is your community part of the_____River system? If yes, how has mercury contamination of the community water supply and fish impacted your children and youth?

Prompt: Seizures, loss of eyesight, cancer, learning difficulties, developmental delays, hearing loss, etc.

Probe: How prevalent are these issues in your community?

Probe: Has this impacted the achievement of your youth in school?

Probe: What could schools do to help students dealing with and preventing on-going mercury poisoning?

Behaviours

Are there specific activities that youth do in your community that could be harmful to them?

Prompt: Criminal activities, drug or alcohol use, risky behaviour, etc.

Probe: How could the school help in dealing with these issues?

Do you consider youth drug use and/or alcohol addiction to be a common issue in your community?

Probe: Why do you think this is common?

Probe: Is this a factor that makes success in school challenging?

Probe: What do you think schools could do to help students with addictions?

Mental health

Are you concerned about youth suicide within your community?

Prompt: Have there been any recent cases?

Probe: Why do you think First Nations youth have higher rates of suicide when compared to other minority groups in Canada?

Probe: What could the school do to help with this issue?

With regards to the missing or murdered Aboriginal women, how many women in your community are still missing or have been murdered?

Probe: Have any mothers/aunts/grandmothers of current secondary school students gone missing or been murdered?

Probe: Are any of the missing women secondary school students?

Probe: What could be done at the school level to help with cases of trauma related to these missing and murdered women?

Probe: Is there anything else you think schools could do to help?

Cultural

Do you think the Ojibway cultural beliefs and values result in the behavioural expectations at school to be different from those at home and in the community?

Prompt: For example the principal of non-interference, striving for consensus, non-hierarchal collectivism, conceptions of authority, or restorative justice.
Probe: How would you like schools to respond to these differences?

Do schools accommodate your youth in participating in cultural practices?

Prompt: These activities could include things like sweats, hunts, wild rice harvests, wakes, etc.
Probe: If no, how would you like schools to respond?

_____High School

What are the reasons that students at____High School left the provincial school system?

Prompt: What do you think resulted in these students not succeeding in their previous schools?
Prompt: Did the school fail to accommodate cultural differences?

So, in a perfect world, what would be your main priority in addressing the needs of children in____High School?

Prompt: These needs may include any of the topics we've already talked about.
Probe: Do you think your main priority is being met at_____High School?
If not, why?

What role do you and your Band Council have in the finances of_____High School?

Prompt: How do you decide what things to pay for at the school?
Probe: I've noticed that the school has state of the art technology, adventure camps for students, and a new gymnasium. What other projects or services are planned to happen in the future?
Probe: What services or programmes do you think the school still needs?

Community inclusion/exclusion

For students attending_____High School, what do you think is the best outcome for them when they grow up?

Prompt: Finish secondary school fulfil community roles (fishing, hunting, trapping)
Probe: Is this outcome different that what you would anticipate from a student attending (provincial)_____Secondary School?

To be considered an active member of your community, what activities or responsibilities do youth have?

Prompt: Spiritual rituals, ceremonies, feasts, powwows, etc.
Prompt: Responsibilities may include hunting, gathering berries, fishing, driving a boat, trapping, babysitting,

When you think of members of your community, what traits, struggles, or physical issues may cause a person do be considered different from the rest of the community?

Prompt: Different could mean people that couldn't contribute to the tribe in the normal ways.
Probe: What does your community do to help these people?

Special education needs and disability

When I worked as a teacher in_____, we had a category of students that had special education needs. Are you familiar with that term?

Probe: Is that a term you would use? If no, is there another term you would use to refer to these students?

Probe: What are some of the characteristics of students in this group?

Probe: Is disability a term you would use? Is yes, what would you say that means? If no, why not?

Is there anything else you would like to add that might better help me to better understand your community and the issues facing your youth?

Is there anything you've learned that was new from our talk today?

Is there anything you have questions about?

*Refer back to "Circular consent: Chief script" (see Appendix D)

Safeguarding of students: If you have noticed that any of the students involved in this project have any out of the ordinary behaviours please remind them of this organisation. Also, if you are worried about any of them, feel free to contact me.

Conclusion:

Thank you-

-summarise main points (member checking)

–collect contact information (what works best for you)

Second elder interview-Post photovoice/art Exhibit/ Powwow

Hi_____. Thank you for participating in this project. Today we are going to talk about what you thought about the photovoice, art, Powwow and Feast event. I am also going to ask you about what you thought about participating in the overall project. I just want to hear about your experience.

*See circular Consent Protocol (see Appendix D).

Interview Questions

What happened at the exhibit?

Prompt: Who came to the event?

Prompt: What Anishinaabe practices had to occur before the Powwow could start?

Prompt: Do you have any stories from the exhibit that you'd like to share?

Who came to the event?

Prompt: Did_____personally invite people to attend?

Prompt: What community members came to the event with you?

Prompt: What was your role at the event? Did you drum, dance, or pray?

What was your favourite part of the exhibit?

Prompt: Did you notice the art, beading, and drums on display?

Prompt: Did you enjoy viewing it alongside the family members and community?

Prompt: What did you get out of the event?

How did the exhibit make you feel?

Prompt: Were you nervous? If so, why?
Prompt: How did the school staff and fellow teachers feel about the event?
Prompt: Was this an emotional event for you?

What did you think of the powwow photo exhibit?
Prompt: Did community members ask you about the photos and art?
Prompt: Did anything surprise you at the exhibit?
Prompt: What did you think this event was going to be like?

What did you think of having a powwow be part of the event?
Prompt: Have you been to a powwow inside of a school?
Prompt: What does a powwow mean to you?
Prompt: What did you wear to the event? Is that significant?

What was your favourite photo?
Prompt: What did this photo teach you?
Prompt: Why was this your favourite photo?
Prompt: Did this photo relate to your life? If yes, in what ways?

Would you suggest that other young people should participate in photovoice projects? Why?
Prompt: Has it helped your students year? If yes, in what ways?
Prompt: Had you ever heard of photovoice before?
Prompt: Have you ever participated in research before?

What did the powwow event teach you?
Prompt: What touched you about the powwow event?
Prompt: What do you think you'll remember from this event next year?

Do you have anything else you would like to tell me about being in this project?

Discuss future dissemination
I will be going back to England after graduation. All of next year I will be writing up a big report for my professors. During this time, I could write short reports that could be published in journal or even blogs on the internet. I am asking for your permission to use the photos that you submitted. I will not be listing your name. It will be changed. However, the location of the school might be recognizable.

Ask for permanent address/contact information. Provide the students with my email.

***Return** to Circular Consent Appendix D.

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

Conclusion
-summarise main points (member checking)

THANK YOU!!!!!

Appendix L: Talking circle protocol

***see Circular consent protocol under "young person talking circle consent" in Appendix A.**

1. Warm-up: Review the guidelines for participating:
    a. Only person holding the feather can speak.
    b. Topic for the discussion is the photos each of you have selected.
    c. Each person can abstain from answering questions.
    d. Reminder-Confidential nature of the circle.
    e. Brought selected **printed** photos with captions (three photos from each photovoice task).
2. Review the schedule for the circle and ask for any suggestions or changes.
3. Smudge sage.
4. Photo sharing:
    a. Have each individual present the story of one photo. Begin by reading your caption. (If further probing is necessary begin the adapted SHOWeD questions.)
        i. What do you see? (*What does it make you think of? How does it make you feel?)*
        ii. What is happening? (*What is going on in this picture? Who is in the photo/ where was it taken? What were you thinking about when you took this picture?)*
        iii. What does this photo have to do with your life? (*What are you trying to tell people about with this picture?)*
        iv. What do you want people to learn about you from looking at this picture? (*Why is this picture important for others to look at?)*
5. Photo captioning: (for the students who opted to do this as a group and for photos that remained without a caption).
    a. Group discussion- what is the purpose of photo captions?
    b. Caption matching activity.
        i. Prepare 3 captions for each magazine photo. Have the students break into pairs and try to match the photos to just one caption.
        ii. As a group have the pairs explain their choices.
        iii. Discuss the importance of captions in explaining the meaning of photos to others who were not there!
6. Categorising:
    a. Brainstorm- Read the photovoice tasks and prompts.
        i. What are the key words? (I will scribe answers on chalkboard.)
        ii. What physical things were included in your photos? *(people, places, objects, hobbies, dislikes)*
        iii. What are some of the emotions you tried to show by your photos?
        iv. What are some of the reasons you took your photos?
    b. Stacking photos into piles:[158]
        i. Separate into 2 groups and bring your own photos along.
        ii. Make piles that show similar things about your photos. *(people, places, hobbies, outside, school, Anishinaabe practices, etc,)*

[158] My method of helping the students develop themes from the photos is adapted from Lee-Ann Ingram's doctoral photovoice research (2013).

1. Are there titles that are about the same things? *(people like friends, family members, location, hobbies, jobs, objects, etc.)*
2. In the captions and during this circle did you notice similar emotions being talked about? *(if though the photos might be of different things, do they show Sadness? Depression? Happiness? Love? Worry?).*
3. In the captions and during this circle did you notice different emotions being talked about from your photos?

iii. Make a leftover pile of photos that don't seem to be in a category with other photos.

7. What to do next with the photos?:
    a. Using the information from today, especially the themes you discovered, we are going to discuss what to do next with the photos.
    b. Who do you want to see the photos? Do you want to share them?
    c. What jobs would each of you like to be in charge of?
    d. Who do we need to talk to in your reserves?

***Return** to Circular Consent "Talking circle" section in Appendix A.

Safeguarding: Did anything we talked about today that upset you/ made you feel uncomfortable? When you leave this interview today, how do you think you'll feel?

If anything we talk about made you feel upset or worried there are professionals that talk to youth about these types of things. These people can also help if anything you and I talked about caused to you think of things that you don't want to talk with me about. The organisation is really close to the school and we can arrange for you to talk to one of these people.

Conclusion:
Member checking: Summarise the main points/themes together.

Closure: reflections concerning the talking circle. *(What did you like? What could be improved? What did you learn?).*

Remind the students to provide any information I need regarding confirming third party consent of photos selected for the public display (and what needs to be ready for the next meeting)

Appendix M: Journal entries documenting a talking circle

Research journals

Log:

Thurs. May 11	-made oatmeal with Sage's help for breakfast. -some of the grade 10's came intoxicated. Sat in the separate room while they drank coffee. -conducted the first talking circle with Sage, Jade, and Cedar after lunch. -Iris didn't attend again today.

Fieldnotes:

Thurs. May 11	**Sage-** seems to be having a hard time settling back into the routine of school. She was excited to see her selected photos printed next to the captions. After lunch she came into the extra room for the talking circle with Cedar and Jade. Sage showed the other her photos and talked about the titles. She asked the others if they had any questions. They asked her about her dog photo. Cedar complimented her selfie with the caption about being gay. He thought it was "really cool" that she "opened up like that." Sage asked Jade to show his photos next. **Jade-** seemed excited about this photos. Everyone knew his grandma and thought that photo was very sweet. He commented that all of them had taken photos of dogs. Then Cedar said he hadn't because of allergies they got rid of their family dog. Jade seemed a bit discouraged about finding things that were the same between the photos. At this point, Cedar started talking about his photos. **Cedar-** Cedar said that his photos "aren't as artistic" because he'd never "taken photos before." Sage jumped in right away and talked about Cedar's selfie that was blurry on purpose. She complimented him. Then she got excited because they found something that was the same in all of their photos-talking about addiction. At this point Cedar said, "we can't just look at what's in the photos, we need to think about what the photo was taken to show—like the captions." **Categorising-** Cedar started stacking together all the photos about loving someone—people and animals. Then Sage suggested "photos about wisdom" because of the photos in the forest and with Grandparents. At this point, Jade suggested putting the photos into the categories of the medicine wheel. However, after a few minutes they decided there needed to be more categories than four because a lot of the photos overlapped. At this point, Sage suggested that they put the photos in the "seven grandfather teachings." The organisation went very quickly. As they debated what went in each of the teachings they came up with loose definitions for each of the teachings. **Honesty:** Sage said, "being honest with yourself." Cedar said, "able to see your own strengthens and weaknesses." **Love:** Caring for each other like people and animals/pets. Cedar thought "best friends" were about love. **Wisdom:** Cedar said "elders are the source of wisdom." Sage explained how her grandpa taught her about being Anishinaabe. All the photos of grandparents went in this category. **Humility:** Jade put a photo of his nephew in this category explaining that it meant "realising that other people depend on him." Sage added that any romantic relationship "means being humble" because "you gotta open up and

	be seen." This lead to photos about boyfriends and girlfriends going in this category. **Truth:** Cedar though this meant "follow one's own journey even when it's hard." They placed the photos about being a girl in this category. Sage's photo about being gay was considered a perfect example of "living one's truth" as Jade said. **Respect:** Cedar really cared about this category. He said it meant "knowing who you are and where you came from." Sage explained that this meant all the photos that showed being "Anishinaabe" like "beading, dancing, drumming" were placed in this category. Cedar added that "being in nature—like just outside" also showed respect. This meant that all the photos of the land were put in this category. **Bravery:** This category was hard for them to define. They talked a bit about racism from white people. Then Sage talked about feeling pressure to be a "good traditional Anishinaabe person" like "better than" her own parents. This meant learning the language. This idea stuck with Cedar, who also talked about feeling pressure to "Save Anishinaabe culture." Jade thought that this category was more about just "being in this time like after residential schools and trying to sort out how to live now." Cedar placed his photo of the moon in this category because he took it to "show" that he "finds traditional teachings" in his "daily life" even though people "think he's not too Anishinaabe." This lead to Sage talking about wanting to be more "traditional" but also needing to "get a job" in a settler town. She felt "stuck in "two worlds." This was also talked about in her interviews. They felt really good about how easily the photos fit into these categories. Sage explained that "of course the photos fit" because the "seven grandfather teachings explain everything in the world."

Reflections:

Thurs. May 11	**Seven grandfather teachings-** These keep coming up at the school and in the elder interviews. The primary school has an award for each teaching they give out every term. The secondary school classrooms have posters up with each of the teachings explained. Sometimes in casual conversation the young people talk about these teachings. I think in some of the preliminary interviews when I asked about aspirations they referred to these teachings. The principal has a book about these teachings in his office on the main desk. There is a lot of art that shows these teachings too. **Talking circle organisation-** I learned that the young people can get easily discouraged when their categories stop working. Helping them brainstorm more at the beginning before they start sorting the photos is very important because this gives them more time to think before committing to one idea. They never interrupted each other or said someone had a bad idea. Even when the medicine wheel categories were deemed not specific enough they didn't say anything negative. I think this is what caused them to push the medicine wheel further by thinking about the values that are taught alongside the medicine wheel. **"Walking in two worlds"-** This idea comes up a lot in the elder and young people interviews. I think some of the family members have mention this too. There are references in academic literature to the notion of "walking in two worlds" (Henze & Vanett, 1993; Marshall, Stewart, Popadiuk, & Lawrence, 2013; Waldram, 2004). The young people seem to feel very worried by these

pressures. I know in my MPhil this idea came up a lot in relation to aspirations after high school.
It's important for me to remember that this is first generation to attend an Indigenous-controlled school. There is a lot of pressure on the students to be "more Anishinaabe" than their parents by doing things like learning the language. At the same time, the reserves are in perpetual poverty. The young people want to make money and bring wealth back to the communities. This requires them to be successful financially.

Appendix N: Excerpts of a walking interview

Research journal Log entry:

Tuesday, April 4	**-Golden Eagle sighting during a walk with Cedar. He was overwhelmed and stopped working.** -Sage beading needed my help doing the edging on her beading project -Did picture captions with Cedar -Darren showed me his room and all of his history. Uncle died on Juno beach. Father was a paratrooper that landed on D-Day. Parents were trappers in this region. Showed map of the Reserve and the actual location of people…sadness at the fact that they were pushed out. Was a conservation officer, farmer, and trapper. Stays her because it is close to the actual land that they had a trapline on when he was a child. Doesn't know if the Reserve will ever get built. There is "nothing out here." -Teacher's assistant helped me cook lunch. She said "Indian kids aren't made of anything different but everything has to be special for them…why?" It bugs her that the kids just push every limit. They don't act grateful. In a normal school they would never get to come here and then "make $100 just to stay on a fun trip." She thinks the expectations need to be higher.

Research journal field notes entry:

Wed., April 5	**Cedar- WALKS** Today after making the medicine bags there was a bit of unstructured time before lunch. Cedar was smoking outside. I went to talked to him. He asked if I wanted to go see a trial he found last night nearby. We had barely started down a path when we saw a golden Eagle. It was nearly 5 feet tall! This is very sacred. Cedar touched my arm and whispered, "it's safe. He'll notice us and then move on to whatever he's hunting. Just be still." We were both silent and just watched it for about 20 mins until it flew away. They didn't take photos. Cedar said it was "mesmerizing". All eagles are considered sacred but this one is by far the rarest. It was a sacred moment. Cedar said that he's been in the bush most of his life and never seen something like that! He commented that it was "nice to get to share it with you." There was a stillness that went over them as they watched it. It felt like time was paused. They pointed out little things like what type of tree it was perched in because it was the strongest. I saw his as an experts in an environment they knew so very well. He also pointed out the bones at the base of the tree thinking it was some type of rodent. He didn't run back inside and tell everyone about the sighting. Cedar explained, "Well he (the eagle) was obviously there for us. So it's just for us to know. It was special." Cedar nodded and winked at me.

Research journal reflections entry:

Tues., April 4	**Sacredness of the golden eagle sighting on the walk -** This event happened during my walk with Cedar. I was terrified, the eagle was about 5 feet tall with a massive wing span. It seemed like something from a fantasy novel. I followed Cedar's lead and just remained very still. Eagles are sacred in Anishinaabe culture. There are loads of legends that talk about them. Not sharing the experience with any of the other students was interesting. I am learning about what Anishinaabe people consider sacred. I am not sure what the eagle taught to Cedar yet. I plan to ask him. I know that he felt grateful

because after the eagle left he placed a bit of tobacco on the ground as an offering. It felt like this sighting was deeply special to Cedar. The rest of the day he seemed contemplative but he worked very hard at school and got so much of his work done. It was like he had been invigorated.
I am not sure about the how to describe the significance of the land and place in my dissertation. I am being shown by the students that being outside and seeing animals is very important in their lives.' It seems that every single time they ask me to come along on a walk, I get a glimpse of this deeper meaning of the land. This needs to be further explored.

Appendix O: Excerpts of types of research journals

Journal Type	Excerpts from February 9, 2017
Log	-Made breakfast for students (oatmeal)-Covered the Anishinaabe class –Two new male students registered–Sage refused to go to gym, swore, hid, and did not apologise—Had to enact emergency team to look for Sage—upset the rest of the students—stayed late to fill in incident report with Nick
Fieldnotes	**Sage** had an outburst today because she was listening to music in the classroom when she was supposed to be attending her physical education programming. When told to got to physical education by her teacher, she yelled and swore. Then she refused to respond to the teacher. She often doesn't take her headphones off when people are talking to her. Then she swore at me and said she wanted to "be left the f*** alone."…The teacher said, "you'll have to leave and sit in the hall…like cool off." Then she stormed out. She hid somewhere. We spent 45 mins looking for her around the school. It's-40 C outside today. This means that it is dangerous for her and us to be outside. She had left her shoes and coat in the classroom. We hoped she was just inside the school. However, the possibility did exist that she went out without winter clothes or took someone else's. She was found hiding in a closet inside the school. She did not apologise to me or the teacher she just pretended like nothing happened.
Reflection	**Building personal relationships with students-** Part of building personal relationships with the students is that it is difficult to block out their negative behaviours. For example, they will swear and call me names when I ask them if they need help with assignments. I spend many hours tutoring each of the students. I feel like I know them. When they are rude I try to be calm and just think, "I don't know what they are going through."…SLSS does not have behavioural plans that help the students reconcile after conflicts or outbursts. The students have a lot of behavioural issues. Often the outburst happens in response to normal conversation or school scheduling (like switching rooms, going to physical education classes, not liking the lunch, etc.). I feel really bad when these outbursts happens because after it's over the students seem to feel embarrassed and don't know how to rebuild relationships.

Appendix P: Memo to primary school teachers

Attn: Voices of Anishinaabe students

Introduction
I grew up in Kenora. I am an OCT secondary school teacher who completed a Master's degree in education. My previous research for my Master's degree was about designing culturally responsive transition programing for Anishinaabe secondary school students. Currently, I am a PhD student and conducting my research within your school. You will be seeing me within the school for the next 5 months.

Project description
This research project explores the views and perceptions of Anishinaabe students concerning their learning needs, the purposes of schooling, and their aspirations. The project will include the entire school at stages but will focus extensively on 5-8 secondary school students. These 5-8 secondary school students will participate in two projects involving taking photos and being interviewed concerning their photographs. In the Spring, the research will conclude with a public display of photos the participating students select. The public display will include the entire school by also displaying two art projects conducted with the primary students.

Primary school involvement
The art projects involving the primary students will focus on the Seven Grandfather Teachings. I will consult with each primary school teacher to design a project that meets the curriculum and abilities of their students. At the time of the art project, I will be within the classroom to help. This project should be completed by the end of April.

To help increase the comfort of the students with my presence in their classroom, I would like to spend time helping in each of the primary classrooms. As such, I will be looking for chances to volunteer in the primary classrooms.

Primary teacher's role
To meet with me to discuss appropriate art activities exploring the Seven Grandfather teachings.

To contact me concerning times that I can come and help in your classroom. These times could be during a particular project that may require additional adult support.
To complete the art projects with their students (while I am also in the class).

Appendix Q: School-wide art project lesson plans

School Wide "Wings" Art Project

http://elementaryartfun.blogspot.ca/2016/11/feather-wings-mural.html
Day One: Meet with JK class and K Class
Day Two: Meet with ¾ class first THEN ½ class

Material List:
-Green, Blue, Red, Yellow, Purple, Orange, brown (and White, Black) Tempura Paint
-Paint Brushes (Class set)
-Paper plates (Class set x2)
-Pack of 8 ½ x 11 computer paper (white)
-Pack of 8 ½ x 14 legal size paper (white)
-3 sheets of heavy bristol board (white) → for feather stencils made ahead of time.
-Pencils (class set)
-Scissors (class set)
-White Pencil Crayons (class set)
-Black Butcher Paper (*if possible, we would use this as a backdrop to display the art, if not we can use something else).
-Staples and masking tape/paintings tape to put up the display when students have finished

Idea for lesson plan for JK and K classes
Introductions of who we are. Here to visit and do a fun project today.

Discussion: Set expectations for the carpet. And when to speak.
What do you know about the 7 grandfather teachings?
What do you need to have to be a good person? We will make a list on the board and then incorporate the teachings into the discussion. love, respect, honesty, bravery, humility, truth, and wisdom. Today we are going to work on a project to celebrate these wonderful things. In this project, your job is to be painters.

Project: (Put on music during this time). All the students will have a plate with a bit of black, solid colour, and white. The colours will not be touching. I will model how to start on one side of the page using a little white and the colour. Then the solid and then mixing a little back for the other side. (Blending, making a gradient) Then I will have a student come up and do it with me. **SET EXPECTATIONS. Paint is only for their paper and not their body, another person's body, the floor, ect. If they do any of these behaviors, they will need to sit out for a break (at least 1 minute) and then they can come back and try again.** Then the students will go to their tables and make their own. When they are done, they can *clean their station and put their piece is a designated place to dry* and get a new colour to try. (The more they make, the more feathers they have!)

Closing: Meet at the tables. Review the list they made on the board.

Materials:
-White paper
-Paintbrushes
-Paint
-Paper Plates

**Prepare paint plates BEFORE we go into the classroom. (black, solid and white paint on each).
JK will use the larger size paper, K will use the smaller sized paper. This will create different lengths of feathers for our final project.

½ Class
Introductions of who we are. Here to visit and do a fun project today.
Book: The girl who ran with wild horses

Discussion: What do you know about the 7 grandfather teachings?
What do you need to have to be a good person? We will make a list on the board and then incorporate the teachings into the discussion. love, respect, honesty, bravery, humility, truth, and wisdom. Today we are going to work on a project to celebrate these wonderful things. I will show them the feathers so far and tell them, "The kindergarteners painted these. Then the ¾ class carefully cut out the feathers. Now were are going to decorate them."

Project: I will draw a line on the board. "Are there any other ways to draw lines that are more interesting?" I will draw a wavy line across, spiky line, etc. Then I will show them how I might decorate my feather using these lines. "Make sure you put a line down the center of the feather so it looks like a feather. After that, I want you to do whatever you think looks nice! I want them all to look different. Today we are only using white to make our feathers look extra magical."
I'll talk about even using hearts and circles to decorate the feather.
SET EXPECTATION: "Our school has worked together to make these. We are not going to scribble but try and do our best work. Put up your hand for extra help or to sharpen your pencil crayon."
Students go to table with feather and pencil crayon. When they are done, they can make another one. "I will tell you when we have 3 minutes left to finish up your work"

Clean up
Meet back at carpet and review our discussion and show the feathers to the class, emphasizing they are so beautiful because they are different.

Materials:
-Feathers
-White pencil crayons (sharpened before hand!)

3/4 Class
Introductions of who we are. Here to visit and do a fun project today. .
Discussion: What do you know about the 7 grandfather teachings?
What do you need to have to be a good person? We will make a list on the board and then incorporate the teachings into the discussion. love, respect, honesty, bravery, humility, truth, and wisdom. Today we are going to work on a project to celebrate these wonderful things. You have the very important job of cutting out feathers for our school project. We are all working together. The kindergartners painted the paper we are using today.

Project: I will model how to use the stencils (already made out of bristol board). ALWAYS use a pencil when tracing. I will purposely make a mistake to show them it's okay and they can use their eraser. Then I will cut out the feather SLOWLY. Again, I will make a small mistake and show them you can simply use tape to fix the problem. Then Carly will come up and cut out another feather in front of them. She will purposely go a bit out of the lines to

show that every feather does not need to look the same. Just try your best! **SET EXPECTATIONS for: Trying your best/Don't give up and being safe with scissors.** Then they students will go to their tables with a painted paper, pencil, stencil and scissors. When they are done, they can cut more. "I will tell you when we have 3 minutes left."

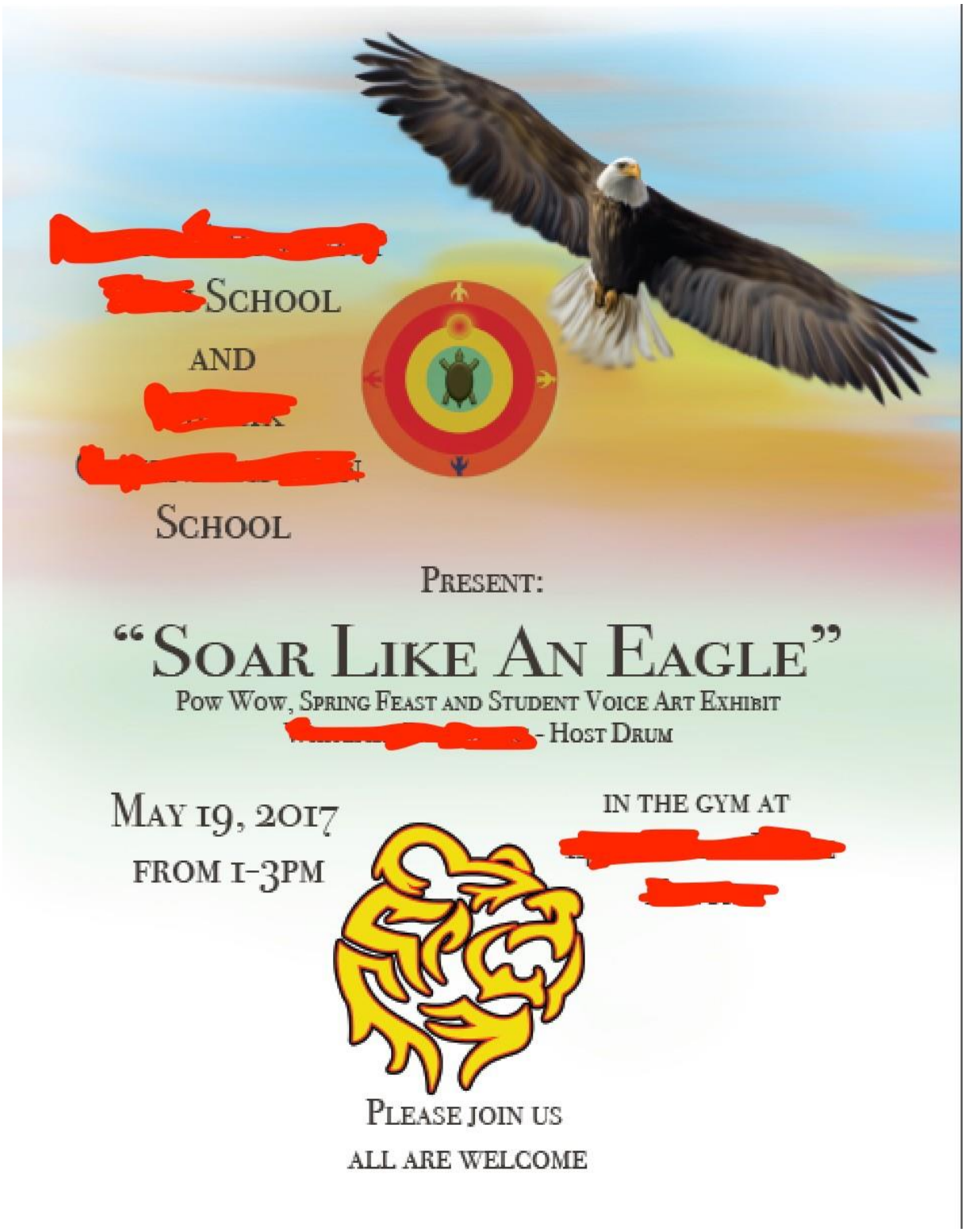
Clean Up.

Closing: Meet on the carpet again, thank them for their help. Review the list on the board.

**They might have extra time. We could bring some colouring pages just in case as their "sponge" activity to fill the time if needed. Or they may read/look at books at their desk.

Materials:
-Painted Paper
-Stencils
-Pencils
-Scissors

Appendix R: Poster and Invitation

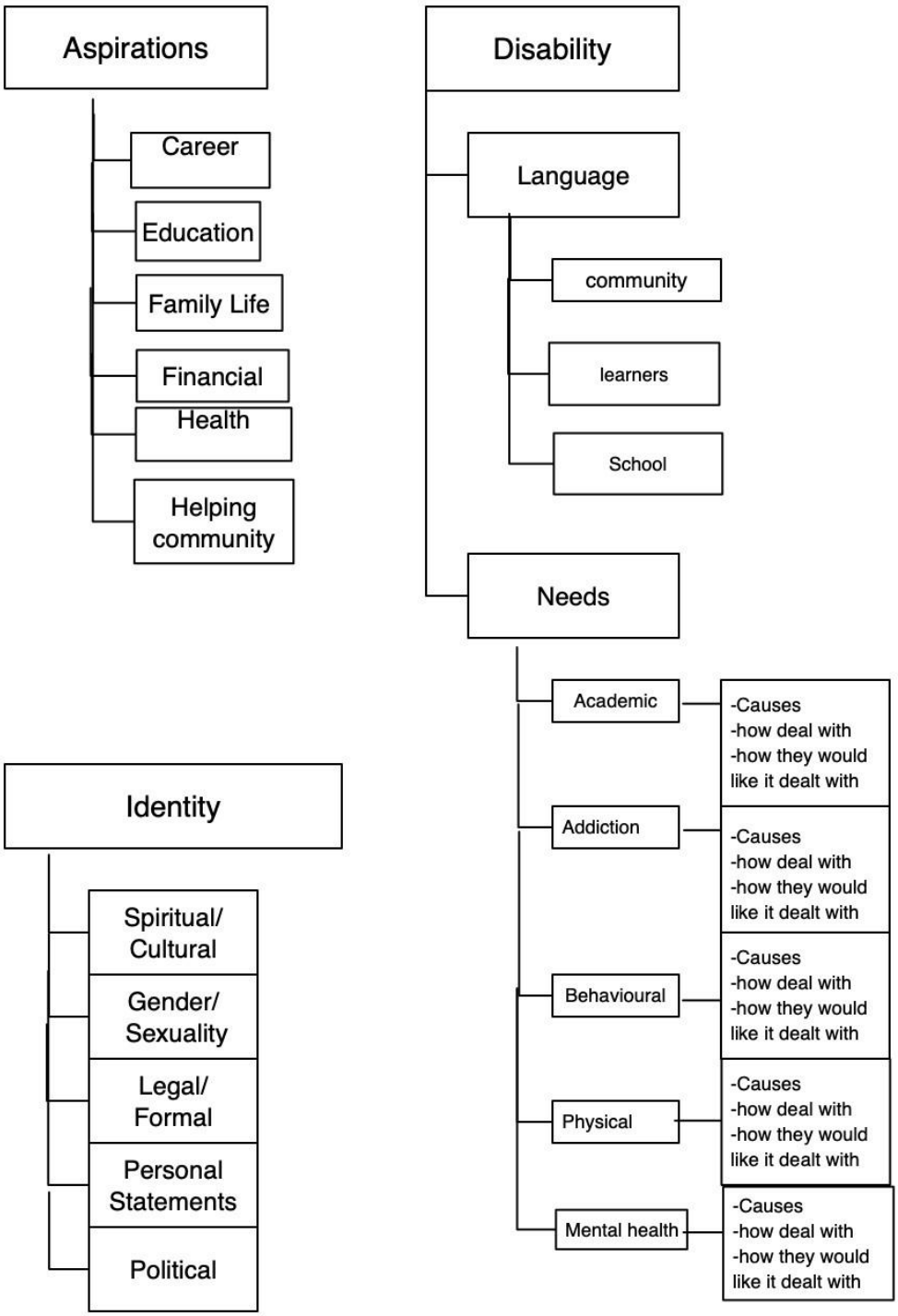


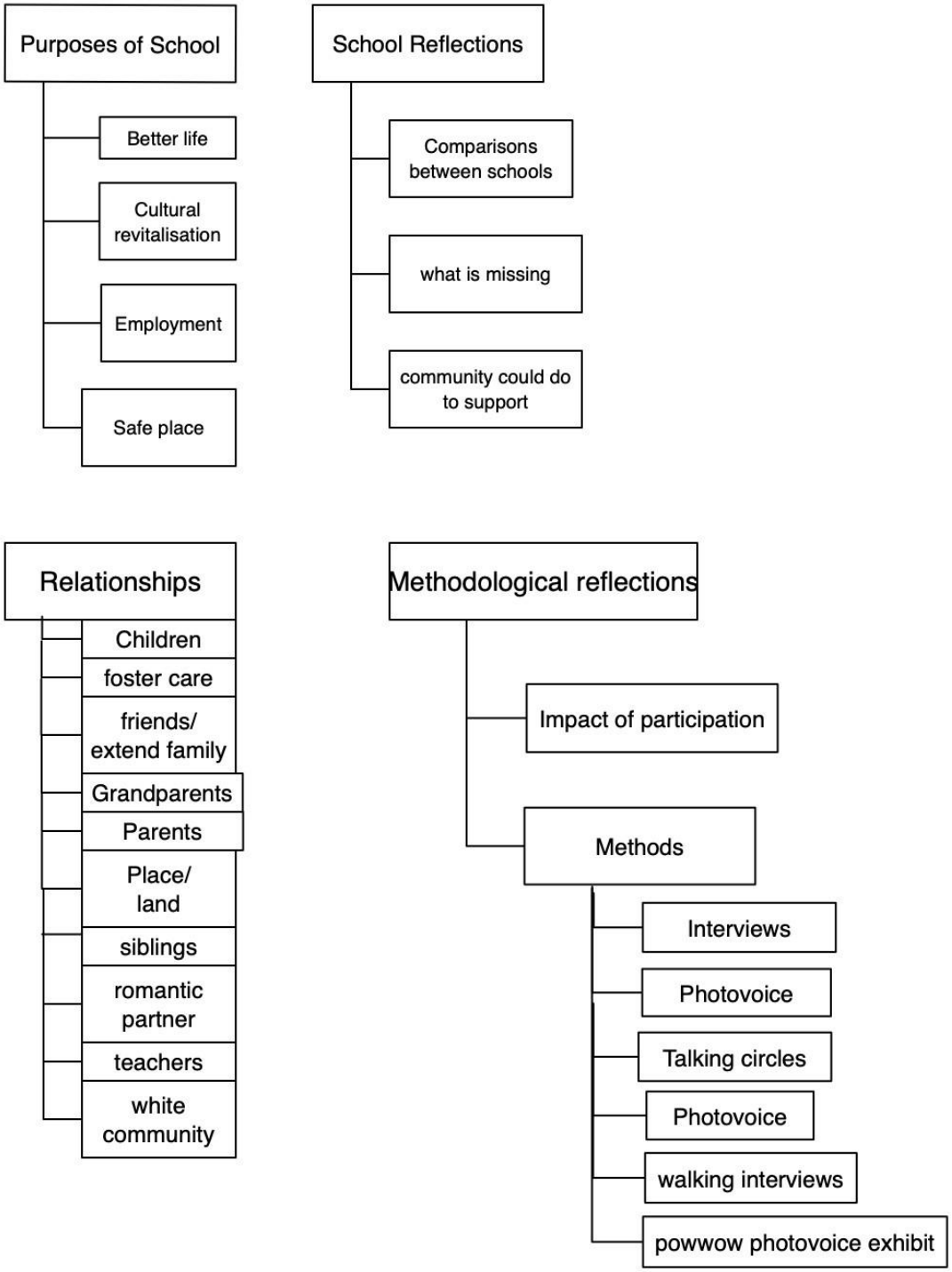
Appendix S: A priori codes

Parent codes	Sub-codes	Definition
Environment	Nature	Pollution, climate, rural isolation, and lack of resources (water, food, housing).
	Community	Positive or negative statements about her/his First Nations community.
Indigenous identity	Tribe/Reserve/Nation?	Advice from elders, cultural practices, spiritual beliefs, sharing legends, and participating in ceremonies/rituals.
	Place-based identity	Statement concerning attachment to First Nations land, animals, natural elements (water).
Areas of Participation	Participation	School events, community events, family (extended too) responsibilities, and social interactions with peers/co-workers/adults. Any statements explaining the impact of participating in any of the prior mentioned activities.
	Exclusion	Mentioning places she/he feels unwelcome or unable to be part of the group. Feelings of being an outsider
School	School structure	Courses offered, programme design
	Choice to come to SLSS	Reasons from leaving previous school, pull factors to SLSS, challenged faced at previous school, expectations for SLSS's programme
	Likes about SLSS	Things they like about SLSS, favourite subjects, opportunities at SLSS
Needs	Student needs	Statements made concerning struggles at school. Comparing her/his abilities to her/his peers' perceived abilities. Statements concerning about previous schools not meeting her/his needs.
	School accommodations	How the school structure and teachers respond to the students' needs.
	Student responses	How the student attempts to accommodate her/his needs. These accommodations could include behaviours that actually cause additional needs.
Individual	Individual factors	Hobbies, traits, preferences, strengths, achievements, setbacks, perceived weakness.
	Aspirations	Statements concerning what the students' want to do and/or become. Statements other people make concerning what they aspire the student to do or become.
Social factors	Peer relationships	Descriptions of interactions with classmates, co-workers, teenage extended family members/tribal members.
	Teacher relationships	Statements revealing how they perceive her/his teachers. Statements concerning how they believe her/his teacher view them. Descriptions concerning interactions with her/his teachers. Stories about her/his teachers.

	Family/tribal community members	Explaining family structure, living situation, family member roles. Statements concerning obligations to family members. Statements of either encouragement or discouragement from family members.
	Role models	Statements that show admiration for an individual (family member, peer, celebrities, teachers, tribal leaders, historical figures). These statements reveal traits, accomplishments, and lifestyles they value and seek to immolate. Statements concerning who they are trying to be an example too.
	Racism	Stories of racist encounters with white people. This includes internal racism in the form of statements agreeing with negative stereotypes of First Nations people.

Appendix T: Coding




Purposes of School
Better life
Cultural revitalisation
Employment
Safe place
School Reflections
Comparisons between schools
what is missing
community could do to support
Relationships
Children
foster care
friends/ extend family
Grandparents
Parents
Place/ land
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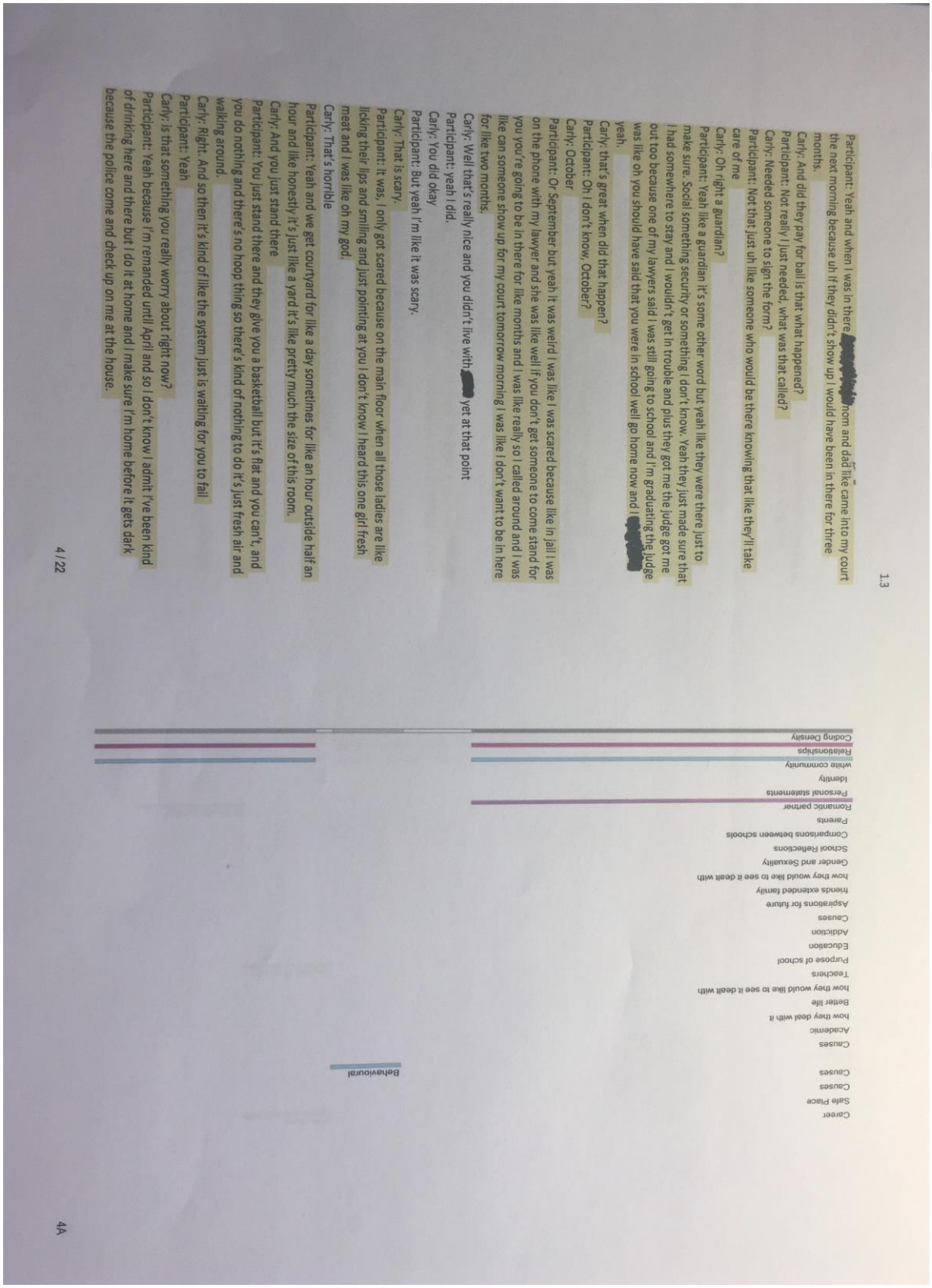
Methodological reflections
Impact of participation
Methods
Interviews
Photovoice
Talking circles
Photovoice
walking interviews
powwow photovoice exhibit

Appendix U: Excerpt of NVivo coded interview



From Amelia's third interview (concerning the second photovoice task)

Carly: Right and so part of parole is not to drink.
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: And so then that could be bad if they ever caught you.
Participant: Yeah and I get kind of like sketched out and stuff so I just try and stay home like all the time like I don't know I get panicky because when, You know how I went skiing with Autumn Friday?
Carly: Yeah
Participant: I didn't get home until 9:30 that night
Carly: Oh no
Participant: And I felt bad I was scared because I don't know as soon as I got home I was like did anyone come and check up on me and they're like oh no not yet no like oh my god okay good.
Carly: And then they did later?
Participant: Yeah. I was kind of scared because sometimes when I'm not there right away they put the warrant out for my arrest.
Carly: Oh no.
Participant: If I'm not at home they'll just write away my name is on warrant if I'm out somewhere they are like okay okay put your hands behind your back we have a warrant for your arrest and I'm like when
Carly: So then you'd end up back in jail.
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: And you'd have to wait until the April
Participant: So right now I'm just trying to like.
Carly: Not have anything happen
Participant: Yeah even a lot of my friends lately they're always like [redacted] do you have pitching's do you want to come party and I'm like no I know if I go party I'm not going to end up coming home.
Carly: And when is parole still it's a year so you're barely
Participant: 12 months
Carly: So your into it two months now.
Participant: Yupp.
Carly: So do you think school's helping you to keep out of trouble?
Participant: Yeah
Carly: Yeah.
Participant: It's I'm doing homework a lot at home
Carly: Right.
Participant: And [redacted] is keeping me out of trouble too so yeah.
Carly: Right
Participant: We're both keeping each other out of trouble we both try and tell each other like stay home when you can but like go out if you want but
Carly: Once in a while
Participant: Just come home
Carly: Yeah, and so then if this, what does, looking at this picture make you want to change about the world?

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Participant: Um The system I guess I don't know.
Carly: And what parts of the system do you think hurt people the most?
Participant: I don't know like getting their kids taken away maybe like you taken away to jail for no reason. I want to change the stupid court thing.
Carly: The remanding?
Participant: Yeah and the way they're running the court right now it's been so slack it's like they're literally remanding everyone for months just watching, waiting for them to like [redacted]
Participant: Yeah so like so they can just throw them in jail. And this jail right now in town it's overpopulated and they're sending people way out there.
Carly: To other jails. So you could end up really far away and no one could come visit.
Participant: That's sad because like I don't know I remember when my mom was in jail she got sent to uh [redacted] because it was overpopulated
Carly: here
Participant: yeah.
Carly: Right. So um what do you think makes this picture so important to have in a project about how people see you?
Participant: I don't know it's just like what I said people always think that kids are just, native kids are just naturally bad like.
Carly: And do you think teachers have been like that in the past?
Participant: Yeah like my [redacted] teachers I don't know when they found out I was like going to the drunk tank and stuff they were like oh you're like labeled a bad kid now right? Or when I would show up to class they'd be like oh here's the slacker and I'm like what did you really just say that in front of the whole class
Carly: Yeah that's awful.
Participant: Yeah especially being pointed out single in just one class full of like thirty kids it's kind of like embarrassing
Carly: And you were trying you came to school that day. Did things like that happen a lot when teachers would single you out?
Participant: Yeah like I'd walk in late and they'd be like oh there she is now I don't know it's like oh yeah.
Carly: Wow that's awful
Participant: I never liked like full classrooms like that
Carly: Right.
Participant: Because like the teachers would always single you out because I was in academic classes and stuff I was the only brown kid and so I would show up late and they would single me out just because of that and because I was the only brown kid so.
Carly: Why do you think there were no other brown kids in academic classes?
Participant: Because honestly you know I don't think kids really see themselves with high expectations like everyone else so that's why they go to like what's that called like the academic
Carly: Applied?
Participant: Applied yeah and that's what I did honestly, I felt so insecure about being the only one in academic so I actually switched to applied because I didn't want to be by myself no

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more like I didn't want to be like the only race in like a room full of like white people so I actually just went to my guidance counsellor and I was like can I switch to applied and he was kind of mad and was like why your doing so good in like your academic and I was like I don't feel comfortable like I didn't like it like being singled out like every day

Carly: And was did the white students treat you just as bad as the

Participant: teachers yeah like I don't know they were just being like ugh and scoff off I was thinking I don't know like just look at you differently you know?

Carly: Like you weren't supposed to be there?

Participant: Yeah they would just look at you like what are you doing here I'm like all right.

Carly: Right and so it's racism that's making them not take academic classes it's not ability yeah.

Participant: it's like it's like the teachers at [redacted] don't think that native kids have ability to be like the[redacted]

Carly: Right.

Participant: Yeah.

Carly: That's really sad.

Participant: Yeah.

Carly: But that picture tells a lot of stories then. Okay, oh, what would you name it?

Participant: Oh um I don't know um discrimination I guess.

Carly: Perfect. Okay so, what is this photo of?

Participant: Uh it's a photo of a I don't know what do they call it?

Carly: Bandanna?

Participant: Bandannas it's a black bandanna *(Photo 2)*

Carly: Okay and what in made you take this picture?

Participant: Um because back in [redacted] there was these kids starting random gangs like all the time and so all the [redacted] teachers was asking everyone white kids and just everyone but mostly native kids they were like oh so are you in a gang? is anyone you know anyone in a gang in this school? it's like no there's no gangs in town like whatsoever they're just want to be's if anything

Carly: Right.

Participant: But like they wouldn't even let us wear like bandannas like that I wore a bandannas headbands too

Carly: you like fold them up?

Participant: Yeah and I couldn't even wear that at school. They like they really took it off my head and shoved it in my backpack for me and I was just like did you just touch my head like you know your not supposed to put your hand on a student you know

Carly: Yeah

Participant: and they like my teacher just kind of went like that and took it off for me and I was like oh okay but yeah it was kind of weird but yeah I only took this picture because like it seems like some teachers think that every kid that is in like a gang for wearing stuff like that.

Carly: Right and so do you feel that sometimes the way you dress then changed how people viewed you?

Participant: Yeah. I don't even like wearing my sweats no more like that.

Carly: Oh yeah you got that out it's a the two piece outfit right?

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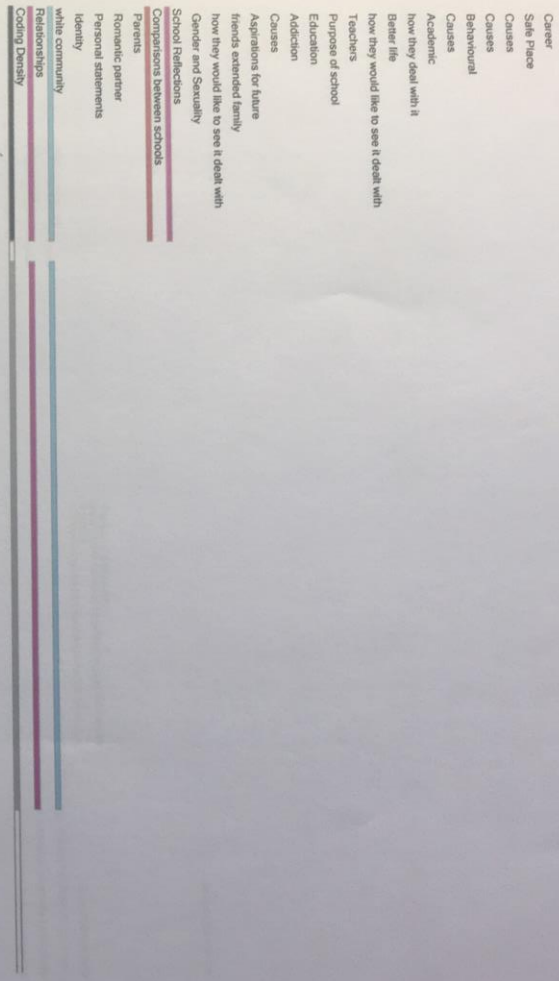
Participant: Yeah I got the sweater too.
Carly: And what happened when you were wearing it?
Participant: I don't know I would just get like comments and that like oh look at her she's so gangster.
Carly: Like when you'd walk around?
Participant: Yeah in those sweats oh look at her she gangster it's like they're sweats
Carly: Right
Participant: Calm down.
Carly: And were these people like white people that didn't know you?
Participant: Yeah like a bunch of little white girls they're like oh my god look at her the gangster I don't know it's just like they're sweats
Carly: And so do you think as a town do you ~~think~~ [redacted] is racist?
Participant: Yeah in this town yes because I don't know one day too I was you know where the chip truck is right?
Carly: Yeah.
Participant: And uh I don't know I was waiting for my fries there was these uh this woman with like with a bunch of native kids she was crossing the road and there was this old man in this little car and he was just like get out of the way already you like you like oh what did he say? He said like like ugh what was it lie savages or something like he said that to like her and her five kids while crossing the street
Carly: Oh my gosh
Participant: And that lady was like swearing like don't say that in front of my kids please like were not like savages you know I don't know I was like wow.
Carly: Wow
Participant: I was like I'm just trying to get my French fries
Carly: Yeah
Participant: But yeah like just overhearing things in town it's pretty
Carly: it's pretty bad
Participant: It's messed up this town
Carly: And so um do you think, what does this picture show about your life and racism in your life?
Participant: I don't know it just happens everywhere
Carly: It happens everywhere. And so um what do you want others to see in this picture when they look at it?
Participant: That you can wear bandannas without being discriminated for being in a gang or nothing
Carly: Right and to kind of think about their stereotypes
Participant: Because lately this print is like really popular in clothes and I don't know.
Carly: Yeah it's just a design.
Participant: Yeah it's nothing bad or anything
Carly: it just switched photos on us
Participant: It just seems like for movies like *Straight Outta Compton* and like that right?
Carly: Yeah.



Participant: It just seems like bandannas are like ritual for gangs and stuff. It seems like that's what people think bandannas are for.
Carly: Right.
Participant: But they're not it's like it's like a sort of fashion.
Carly: Yeah yeah yeah it's a way you want to dress.
Participant: Yeah it's I don't know.
Carly: And so then do you think that why people regulate what native people can do and where and say.
Participant: Yeah. I don't know it seems like I don't know it seems like the they talk about the way we dress too sometimes like I don't know it's like
Carly: Okay, and so what does this picture make you want to change about the world?
Participant: That you can wear anything that you want like without being discriminated against.
Carly: Right, totally. What would you name this photo?
Participant: Um Ideal *(Photo 2: Ideal, Relationships: white community)*
Carly: So in an ideal world you would wear that and people would just think it's another piece of clothing?
Participant: Yeah
Carly: That's a perfect name um okay, maybe we'll do one more um okay what is this one of?
Participant: it's a drawing on the wall in my bedroom it's a bird painting in a cage *(Photo 3)*
Carly: Wow and so who did it?
Participant: [redacted]
Carly: And what [redacted] mean again?
Participant: [redacted] yeah.
Carly: Okay. And what does this picture symbolize in your life?
Participant: That it's like it's beautiful but like caged in you know?
Carly: Is that how you feel?
Participant: Yeah sometimes. sometimes
Carly: And what's what are the cages in your life? What cages you in?
Participant: Insecurities and I don't know just everything like discrimination, racism. It feels like I can't do much like you see how the bird is just stuck in there?
Carly: yeah
Participant: It seems like I can't get free. I don't know with [redacted]
Carly: Right.
Participant: You know? I don't know.
Carly: No that's, it's really sad but it's beautiful. And so then, let's see, what are you trying to tell other people about with this photo?
Participant: I don't know that you don't have to be caged in all the time.
Carly: Do you think that a lot of anishinaabe youth feel like they are?
Participant: Yeah because like well nowadays you can't really express yourself without being teased or anything and I don't know.
Carly: Like expressed being [redacted]
Participant: Yeah or even just being like just like bisexual or something get discriminated for everything that you do nowadays. It's kind of shitty.

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Carly: Right. And so um when you were saying, so basically the cage represents lots of thing society does and also your own insecurities, what do you think has caused your insecurities?

Participant: All the challenges in my life. Just the other day I kind of just like broke down crying to [redacted] and yet all in all I was really upset about myself the other day. I don't know I just felt like really like just like fat and like ugly the other day and he was just like I wasn't crying like super hard because of it and then he was like hugging me and then he was like it's okay he's like I don't even know why you're crying like this then he's like I love you just the way you are and I was just like crying again and I was just like and he was just like stop crying! And I was just like I'm crying because I'm happy but yeah like I don't know just some insecurities.

Carly: Yeah.

Participant: Really block you in

Carly: Yeah. And so um there's insecurities about how you look but do you have other insecurities? Like do you worry about things at school?

Participant: Actually yeah for past couple of days I've been thinking like will I even have time to like finish it these next few courses to even graduate? I really like like doubted myself right now like when I have moment okay I really need to do work right now like this weekend I didn't even do homework I was supposed to but I don't know I kind of really doubted myself this weekend this weekend I was just like yeah you're not going to graduate but then sometimes I'll like just do your work

Carly: And are there like people in your life that kind of feed those bad thought?

Participant: Yeah sometimes my mom.

Carly: And so then um when you said that the picture is also beautiful, like sad but beautiful, what parts about it are beautiful to you?

Participant: I don't know just the bird generally like yourself like you're beautiful but like I don't know, you just don't see it you know yourself doesn't see it but everyone else does and see like stuck in a cage and so you don't doesn't really know if he should go out of the cage and express himself but he's just going to stay in because all of that stuff and stuff

Carly: Right.

Participant: Yeah.

Carly: Right and so do you feel like graduating is getting you out of the cage in some ways?

Participant: Yeah, I'm almost out.

Carly: You're almost out and do you think that education what, does that for people?

Participant: Yeah made me really boost up my confidence about myself honestly like I don't know just hearing you and [redacted] saying that I'm actually going to graduate like oh my god it makes me feel good like I'm actually doing something right finally.

Carly: Right.

Participant: I don't know. All my life I've been told that I've been doing things wrong or doing things I'm not doing things right.

Carly: Right.

Participant: So I was told that my whole life. Now I just finally feel like on track.

Carly: And do you think you'll continue like go to seven gens and do college or anything?

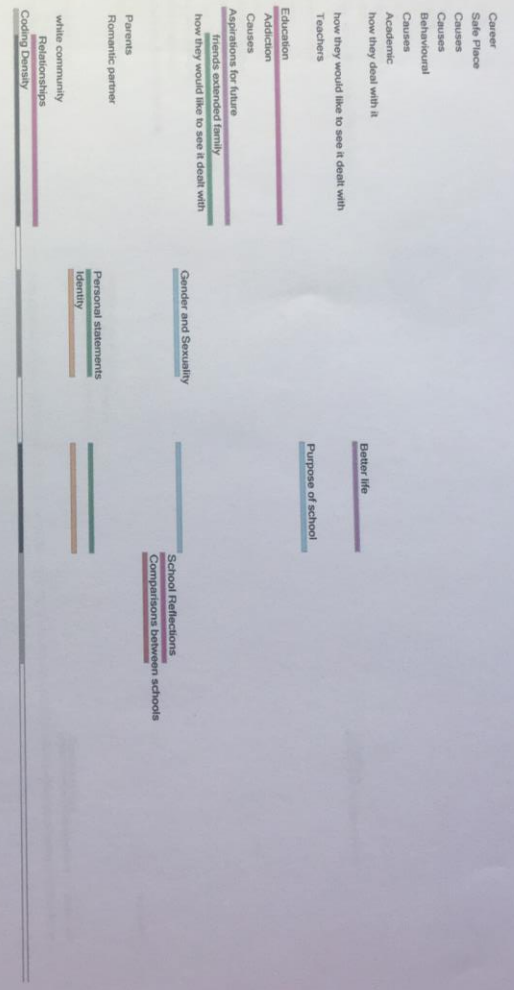
Participant: I was thinking of going [redacted] college

Carly: oh cool! Yeah I remember that now.

Participant: Yeah.

Carly: That's great
Participant: Somehow when I think about it, I kind of want to go somewhere to college but then I don't want to I don't know.
Carly: And what makes you kind of not want to?
Participant: I'm scared like I don't go alone
Carly: Like to go to [redacted] or [redacted]?
Participant: I don't know I just don't want to go to school alone you know? I'm used to having friends all the time like with me but college you're going to be by yourself.
Carly: Right.
Participant: I don't know I just feel scared. It's a scary thought.
Carly: Oh. Um and so do you think what does this picture make you want to change in the world?
Participant: That you don't have to be scared like just teaching people and kids that you don't have to be scared of your insecurities and everything just shine bright.
Carly: And so if you could go back and tell the like [redacted] something what would you say?
Participant: Don't be scared of anything.
Carly: Yeah um and so then, what would you name this photo?
Participant: In time. *(In Time, Rel/white comm, Identity/personal)*
Carly: In time? And could you explain what that title means to you?
Participant: Um like it takes time to build courage and everything so it's going to take time to conquer everything in your past so you can go forward.
Carly: Right. And what things do you think have helped you to conquer as your conquering right now?
Participant: [redacted] don't know just coming to school a different school.
Carly: A different school. And we've talked about this already before but, what do you think is the best thing that [redacted] does to help you?
Participant: encourage me they really like not push you not too hard but they really like encourage you to get stuff done and they like help you a lot too. Just with anything like any little question that you have .
Carly: Perfect, is there anything else you want to say about this photo?
Participant: No
Carly: Cool. Okay so why don't we pause for now because I was supposed to do [redacted] and I was late um so I will pause it and we will
Participant: tomorrow?
Carly: Finish it tomorrow.
Participant: Okay.
Carly: Your last two photos with me.
Participant: Yay!
Carly: I'm like

Carly: So, I'm with [redacted] it's the last two photos of her second photo voice project, so don't get confused. So, we'll start off with, what's going on? Well we will get it like that I guess? That's weird. Okay, so what is this photo of?



Participant: Um my all my work right now. *(Photo 4)*
Carly: All of your work? And I think it has, let me just see. Last name.
Participant: Hey there's my other one.
Carly: See if I can make them all okay so now maybe it will let us all see it big.
Participant: Maybe it's because there's hearts on it.
Carly: Maybe.
Participant: Because like it's favourited you know?
Carly: Oh, it's so weird there, okay, something worked. Okay so you've got the lessons in there, and then also what's in the middle?
Participant: That graduation plan thing
Carly: Okay so it's what you have left and everything in yellow is what you still have to do.
Okay, or are working on.
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: So how does this picture make you feel?
Participant: accomplished.
Carly: Accomplished? Um and did you ever think this would happen to you, that you'd get this far?
Participant: No, I don't know I kind of oh no I thought I would have dropped out and stopped by now.
Carly: And so, um what stopped you from dropping out?
Participant: I don't know, I don't know just realizing that I needed to finish that I was behind.
Carly: And so, then um when you think of who, how do people see you, which person is this picture capturing in your life or people?
Participant: I don't even know I forgot which question this one's from.
Carly: This one's for the how do people see me.
Participant: Oh um, I don't know [redacted]
Carly: Oh, so is this about your teachers or about how you see or about how other people see you?
Participant: I don't know, I forgot this one.
Carly: Okay so how do you think your teachers see you?
Participant: I don't know.
Carly: Here at [redacted]
Participant: I don't know, right probably.
Carly: Right and they think you're going to graduate
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: Um and so you said you feel accomplished by this picture and so um this is, do you think this is how they see you?
Participant: Yeah probably
Carly: Yeah, cool. And so, what would you want like my teacher to learn from seeing this picture?
Participant: I don't know just like never give up on yourself
Carly: Yeah, so what makes you want to prove people wrong about not graduating?
Participant: I don't know a lot of people were saying that you know how I live with my boyfriend right?

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Carly: yeah.
Participant: A lot of my old friends are always like oh you're too shacked up like you guys are living together like you won't get stuff done if you live with your boyfriend constantly if you with him constantly. And like I don't know I'm just proving all those people wrong I'm living with my boyfriend and I'm still graduating like I'm not just putting all of my attention on his needs and just him in general like I have my own things that I want to accomplish too and like.
Carly: Yeah, and how do you think [redacted] feels about you being a student?
Participant: Good like he like last night he was like he was like I'm so proud of you and like yeah, I'll probably be graduating before him. So, I don't know he's just like proud.
Carly: Yeah
Participant: He was like I'm so happy for you and everything and I was like oh my god thank you but yeah.
Carly: And tell me a little bit about your grades because you compared your grades last night, right?
Participant: His were like fifties and sixties and mine were like eighties and nineties.
Carly: Wow that's an honor student.
Participant: Yeah [redacted]
Carly: And you had lots of credits before coming to [redacted] though?
Participant: Yeah, I didn't even know that.
Carly: You didn't?
Participant: No I literally I only thought I had like six or seven credits
Carly: Oh wow.
Participant: But when I got here [redacted] was like explained everything to me and he was like you know you have like sixteen credits right now and I was like really? And then now I'm up to like twenty-six?
Carly: Twenty-six or something wow.
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: And so, um do you see yourself as like a smart person?
Participant: No
Carly: No, even though you've got all of this accomplished?
Participant: sometime I think I'm smart sometimes but I don't know like I feel like [redacted] sometimes like I'm really forgetful sometimes it's like I'll learn something one day and then like the next day I'll be like oh my God like how can you not remember this you learned it yesterday and like.
Carly: Right, you've talked about that in the other interview a little bit.
Participant: Yeah, I just feel like forgetful sometimes like really bad.
Carly: Right and you think this has gotten worse as you've got older?
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: Yeah. Um but I think last time you thought it had to do a little bit with like drinking but you're not drinking as much anymore.
Participant: No
Carly: So, do you feel like things are clearer?
Participant: Yeah.
Carly: Yeah.

1.3

white community
Relationships
Coding Density

Identity

Personal statements
Romantic partner
Parents
Comparisons between schools
School Reflections
Gender and Sexuality
how they would like to see it dealt with
friends extended family
Aspirations for future
Causes
Addiction
Education
Purpose of school
Teachers
how they would like to see it dealt with
Better life
how they deal with it
Academic

Causes

Behavioural
Causes
Causes
Safe Place
Career

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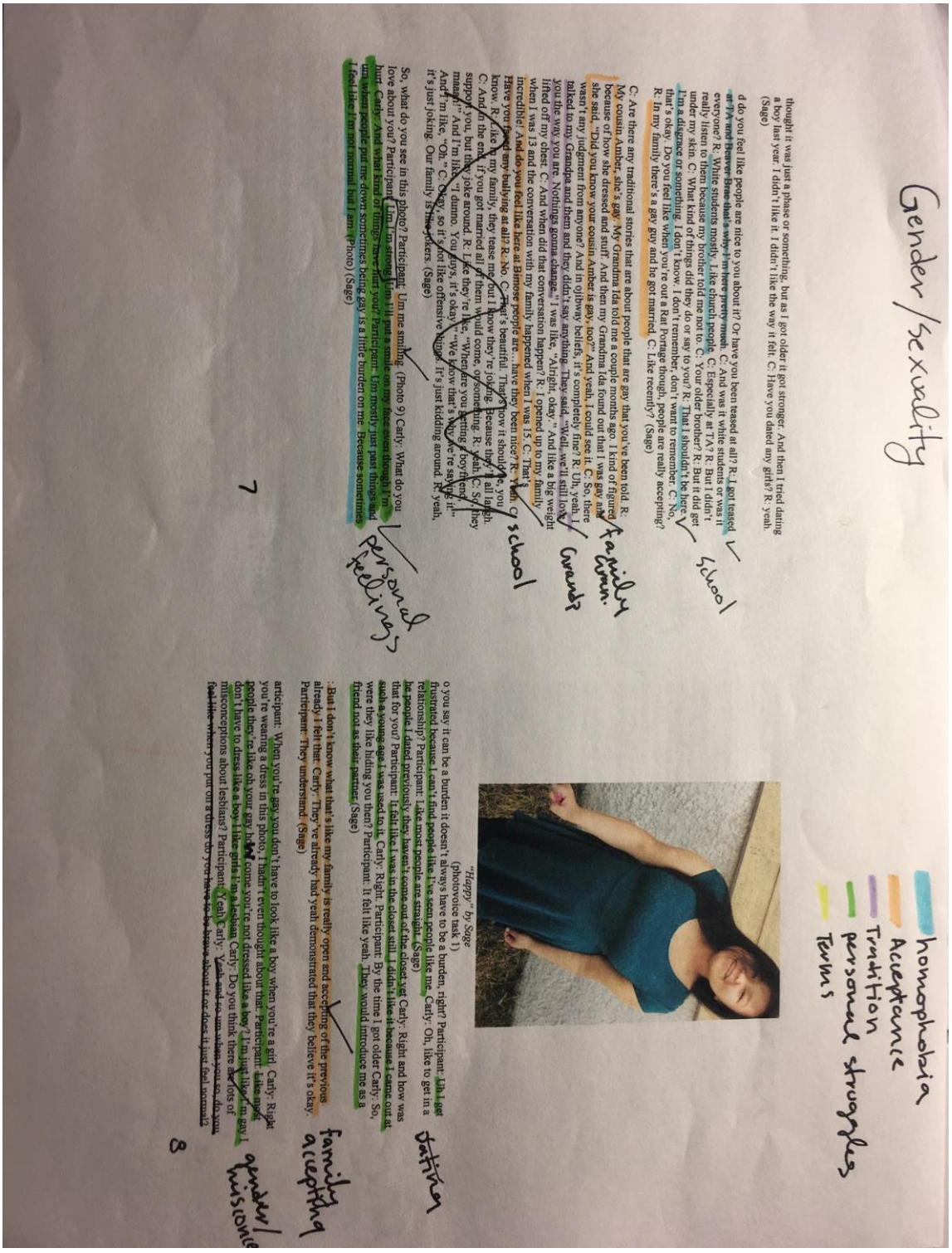
13A

Appendix V: Within codes across-respondent analysis



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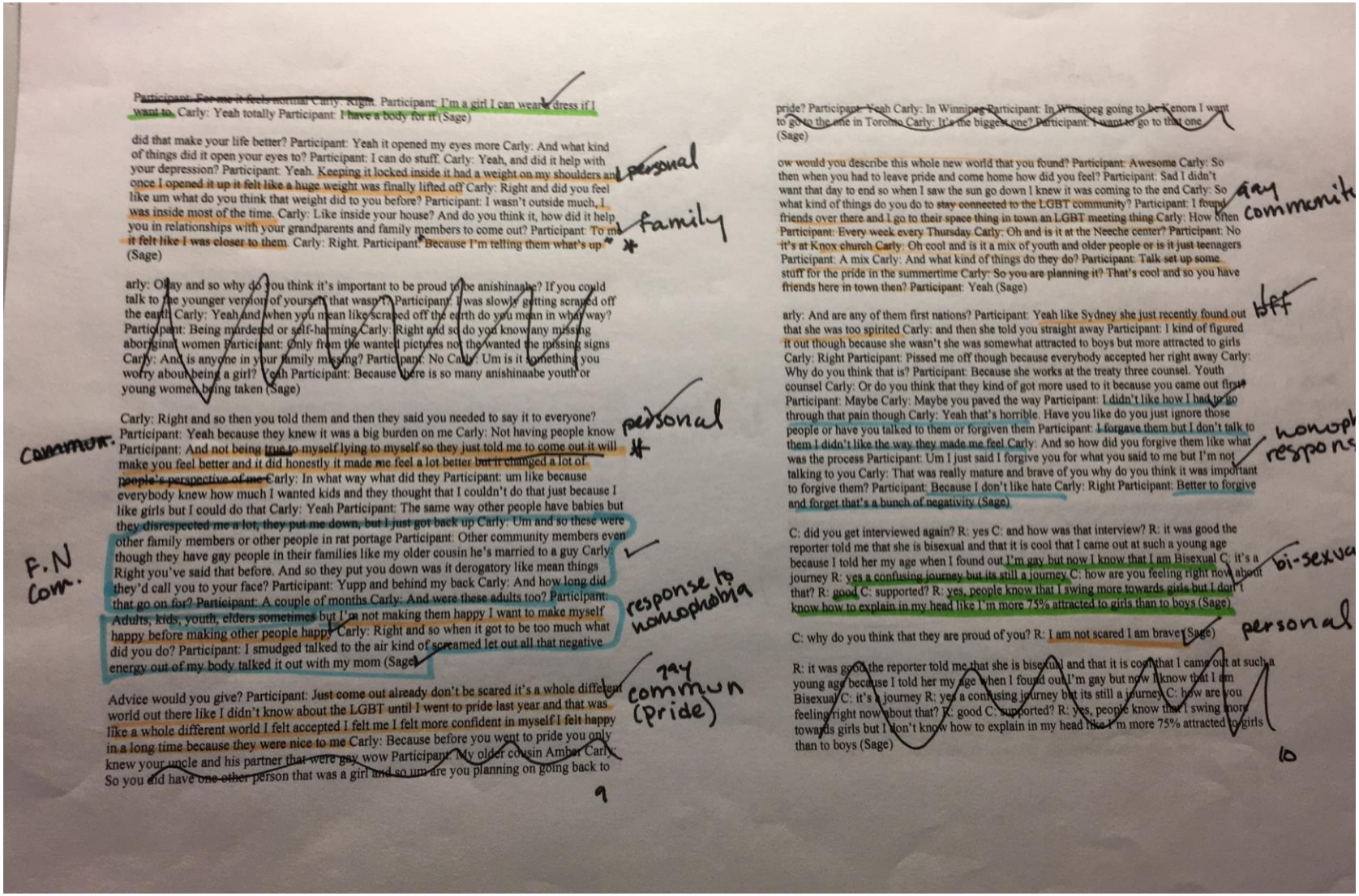

Participant: For me it feels normal Carly: Right. Participant: I'm a girl I can wear a dress if I want to. Carly: Yeah totally Participant: I have a body for it (Sage)

did that make your life better? Participant: Yeah it opened my eyes more Carly: And what kind of things did it open your eyes to? Participant: I can do stuff. Carly: Yeah, and did it help with your depression? Participant: Yeah. Keeping it locked inside it had a weight on my shoulders and once I opened it up it felt like a huge weight was finally lifted off Carly: Right and did you feel like um what do you think that weight did to you before? Participant: I wasn't outside much, I was inside most of the time. Carly: Like inside your house? And do you think it, how did it help you in relationships with your grandparents and family members to come out? Participant: To me it felt like I was closer to them. Carly: Right. Participant: Because I'm telling them what's up (Sage)

arly: Okay and so why do you think it's important to be proud to be anishinaabe? If you could talk to the younger version of yourself that wasn't Participant: I was slowly getting scraped off the earth Carly: Yeah and when you mean like scraped off the earth do you mean in what way? Participant: Being murdered or self-harming Carly: Right and so do you know any missing aboriginal women Participant: Only from the wanted pictures not the wanted the missing signs Carly: And is anyone in your family missing? Participant: No Carly: Um is it something you worry about being a girl? Yeah Participant: Because there is so many anishinaabe youth or young women being taken (Sage)

Carly: Right and so then you told them and then they said you needed to say it to everyone? Participant: Yeah because they knew it was a big burden on me Carly: Not having people know Participant: And not being true to myself lying to myself so they just told me to come out it will make you feel better and it did honestly it made me feel a lot better but it changed a lot of people's perspective of me Carly: In what way what did they Participant: um like because everybody knew how much I wanted kids and they thought that I couldn't do that just because I like girls but I could do that Carly: Yeah Participant: The same way other people have babies but they disrespected me a lot, they put me down, but I just got back up Carly: Um and so these were other family members or other people in rat portage Participant: Other community members even though they have gay people in their families like my older cousin he's married to a guy Carly: Right you've said that before. And so they put you down was it derogatory like mean things they'd call you to your face? Participant: Yupp and behind my back Carly: And how long did that go on for? Participant: A couple of months Carly: And were these adults too? Participant: Adults, kids, youth, elders sometimes but I'm not making them happy I want to make myself happy before making other people happy Carly: Right and so when it got to be too much what did you do? Participant: I smudged talked to the air kind of screamed let out all that negative energy out of my body talked it out with my mom (Sage)

Advice would you give? Participant: Just come out already don't be scared it's a whole different world out there like I didn't know about the LGBT until I went to pride last year and that was like a whole different world I felt accepted I felt me I felt more confident in myself I felt happy in a long time because they were nice to me Carly: Because before you went to pride you only knew your uncle and his partner that were gay wow Participant: My older cousin Amber Carly: So you did have one other person that was a girl and so um are you planning on going back to

pride? Participant: Yeah Carly: In Winnipeg Participant: In Winnipeg going to be Kenora I want to go to the one in Toronto Carly: It's the biggest one? Participant: I want to go to that one (Sage)

ow would you describe this whole new world that you found? Participant: Awesome Carly: So then when you had to leave pride and come home how did you feel? Participant: Sad I didn't want that day to end so when I saw the sun go down I knew it was coming to the end Carly: So what kind of things do you do to stay connected to the LGBT community? Participant: I found friends over there and I go to their space thing in town an LGBT meeting thing Carly: How often Participant: Every week every Thursday Carly: Oh and is it at the Neeche center? Participant: No it's at Knox church Carly: Oh cool and is it a mix of youth and older people or is it just teenagers Participant: A mix Carly: And what kind of things do they do? Participant: Talk set up some stuff for the pride in the summertime Carly: So you are planning it? That's cool and so you have friends here in town then? Participant: Yeah (Sage)

arly: And are any of them first nations? Participant: Yeah like Sydney she just recently found out that she was too spirited Carly: and then she told you straight away Participant: I kind of figured it out though because she wasn't she was somewhat attracted to boys but more attracted to girls Carly: Right Participant: Pissed me off though because everybody accepted her right away Carly: Why do you think that is? Participant: Because she works at the treaty three counsel. Youth counsel Carly: Or do you think that they kind of got more used to it because you came out first Participant: Maybe Carly: Maybe you paved the way Participant: I didn't like how I had to go through that pain though Carly: Yeah that's horrible. Have you like do you just ignore those people or have you talked to them or forgiven them Participant: I forgave them but I don't talk to them I didn't like the way they made me feel Carly: And so how did you forgive them like what was the process Participant: Um I just said I forgive you for what you said to me but I'm not talking to you Carly: That was really mature and brave of you why do you think it was important to forgive them? Participant: Because I don't like hate Carly: Right Participant: Better to forgive and forget that's a bunch of negativity (Sage)

C: did you get interviewed again? R: yes C: and how was that interview? R: it was good the reporter told me that she is bisexual and that it is cool that I came out at such a young age because I told her my age when I found out I'm gay but now I know that I am Bisexual C: it's a journey R: yes a confusing journey but its still a journey C: how are you feeling right now about that? R: good C: supported? R: yes, people know that I swing more towards girls but I don't know how to explain in my head like I'm more 75% attracted to girls than to boys (Sage)

C: why do you think that they are proud of you? R: I am not scared I am brave (Sage)

R: it was good the reporter told me that she is bisexual and that it is cool that I came out at such a young age because I told her my age when I found out I'm gay but now I know that I am Bisexual C: it's a journey R: yes a confusing journey but its still a journey C: how are you feeling right now about that? R: good C: supported? R: yes, people know that I swing more towards girls but I don't know how to explain in my head like I'm more 75% attracted to girls than to boys (Sage)

I learned to be true to yourself (Sage)

: Right, and so you just do it personally out of respect for when she, they told you that? R: I don't remember, I don't do it so much around like their family members, their mother I wouldn't do it around, like when people I know are cool with it or would be open to it I use it. But I think that if they want that around like everywhere then they have to express it. I do use they/them pronouns and like I also changed it on my facebook, but I also, like when I go to like spaces like LGBT2SQ+ support group like I identify myself as two spirited I define my pronouns as they them. It's respected but I don't do that at school. Like there's any one teacher that knows that I don't necessarily identify as she, so they like, it's a classroom full of like people perceived as girls or like as females so they started to be like more careful of like calling us people or individuals (Sam)

gender? school

C: Can you explain what being two spirited means to you? R: To me being two spirited it's kind of like, it's like on the spectrum, but the way I understand it it's like personal to like every single person, it's individualized like however they define it, that's the definition for them. (Sam)

Two-spirited

R: And I see it as being different for every person, so I have a friend who's two spirited like Mannie? Shapatee? She's the lesbian, she identifies as lesbian two spirited person like Ramin Damond? do you know Ramin Damond? So he's gay. And then like me. I don't like to be so very like specific to I just like identify myself with being two spirited. (Sam)

R: It's the way that I feel it. Like I recently went to a sweat lodge and I got gifted my names and like one in Minagogweek and that comes from the moon, like the grandmother moon so it means, or it's translated as beautiful standing woman and the other one is Babamasheek which translates kind of to like person that moves from place to place, but is more like soaring so there's like a bird aspect so grandfather … there's even like a balance in that, grandmother, grandfather. And then I like got my colours and my first colour was red, so like right then I was like the next one' gonna be blue, I know it, and sure enough it was blue and then the next one was yellow like the sunset, and then the next one was purple, like when colours mix together there's always like ya red and blue C: That's beautiful R: Ya, so I feel like it's in me. (Sam)

Gender? Traditional

C: So do you feel like you've been accepted in Rat Portage, and Julia's accepted? R: I feel like, like Julia has like come out and they've like faced a lot more backlash. Like I haven't necessarily like come out because I don't feel like there is a need for me to come out like I don't feel like I have anything to come out of, I just imply exist because I do. C: You don't see the binaries so that's not necessary . And so watching Julia go through that, how was that for you? (16:34) R: Like I see that Julia struggles, but I think that Julia cares like a lot more about what other people think that I would. And they take it much more personally than I would. But like I still do get nervousness, 'cause we recently filmed, we recently did like a video for regional? Did they tell you about that? C: Ya, I listened to the sound cloud version a bunch. R: So a part of the filming for that was like me and Julia hold hands C: She told me about that too R: I was wearing a jean jacket and I had like a thing with a rainbow on it so like people were ___ hold hands I was jokingly, we're cousins, it was like a joke, but there was of course a truth to it, just like the way it would be perceived by people from the reserve and the community, even just like around the

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FN community

community, like so I am nervous about it. Like I'm kind of scared for them, I'm not sure, like I'm sure there will be positive but I know there will be some negatives to it. (Sam)

C: Like it's in legends and stuff too R: It is? Like in the sense of the community like they've have had members who have been C: Oh, okay R: been identifying as on the spectrum or off it, who knows. C: Right. Right R: But it's not necessarily like to say when you ask them maybe possibly say we've had like this person or that person, but they wouldn't necessarily talk about it openly like just out of the blue and be like C: Right, you'd have to bring it up R: So you even have to pry it. Like it's not something that's talked about like even two spirited teachings aren't like openly shared. Like I know they are held like in the Madeoian Lodge like anyone who's Madeoian has those teachings, but they don't share them, they don't talk about them. The only person I've known to talk about them is like Ron or Monnie? I don't know anyone else in the communities who have like openly talked about them. (Sam)

FN Commun.

R: I feel it mainly stems from contact, like the way I've heard it, a lot of people perceived as women, are just like, a lot of people who are free with their sexuality, like if they're, if they're no longer partners with a person and had like had a new partner and it was okay. Like it was completely normal, it was cool. And even with like children like they'd be cared for by the entire community rather that just like a single person or if they were abandoned by that person then they'd be taken care of by someone else. Like it was always, like people were always taken care of, it was a very, like a community and then when like contact came they didn't, like it was very very _____ genders. And there was always men being above women, and then when they saw these women being free with their sexuality, then they called them like prostitutes, whores and what not. (Sam)

sexuality + Contact

Move to gender

C: why were you proud of Julia specifically? R: because me and Julia have grown up together and while I myself have come to accept myself more and have seen Julia struggle with her identity and it is great to see her brave new step (Sam)

R: I feel that any sort of positive indigenous representation I feel that specifically the two-sprit identity should be one that is more displayed because it has kind on faded out (Sam)

R: they are full moon ceremonies and they honor you time C: so they are only women? R: yes and moon lodges have a berry fast that is kind of like a write of passage for your first time and even if you haven't done your write of passage you can still honor your time and be recognized as a woman even if you are sixty or twelve, I feel like there are so many ways to heal that we know about and there is probably a ceremony for everything (Sam)

Gender

She told me about coming out as Lesbian and being teased at the Catholic High School. She feels accepted by her family and tribe. She talked about an uncle that is gay who got married last year and another cousin that is lesbian. (RJ)

She was so excited to see me walk in today. She had a fantastic time in Thunder Bay for the Anishanabe youth empowerment conference. She said that the first day when her aunt dropped her off and her sister she was nervous. Then when she walked up to the registration table there was a rainbow flag flying and she felt "peaceful". The head organiser was a trans Ojibway

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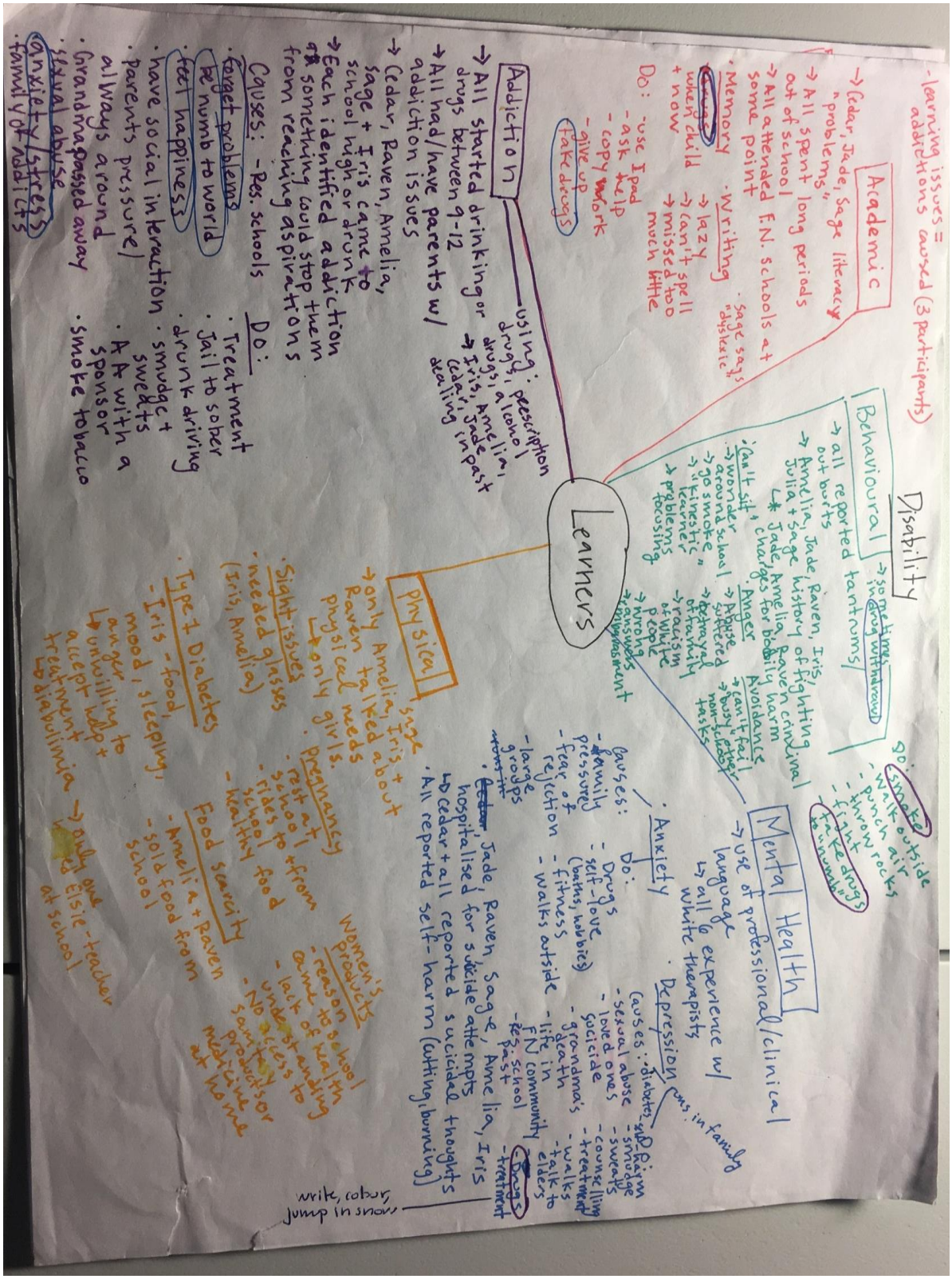
Appendix W: Visual cross-respondent analysis



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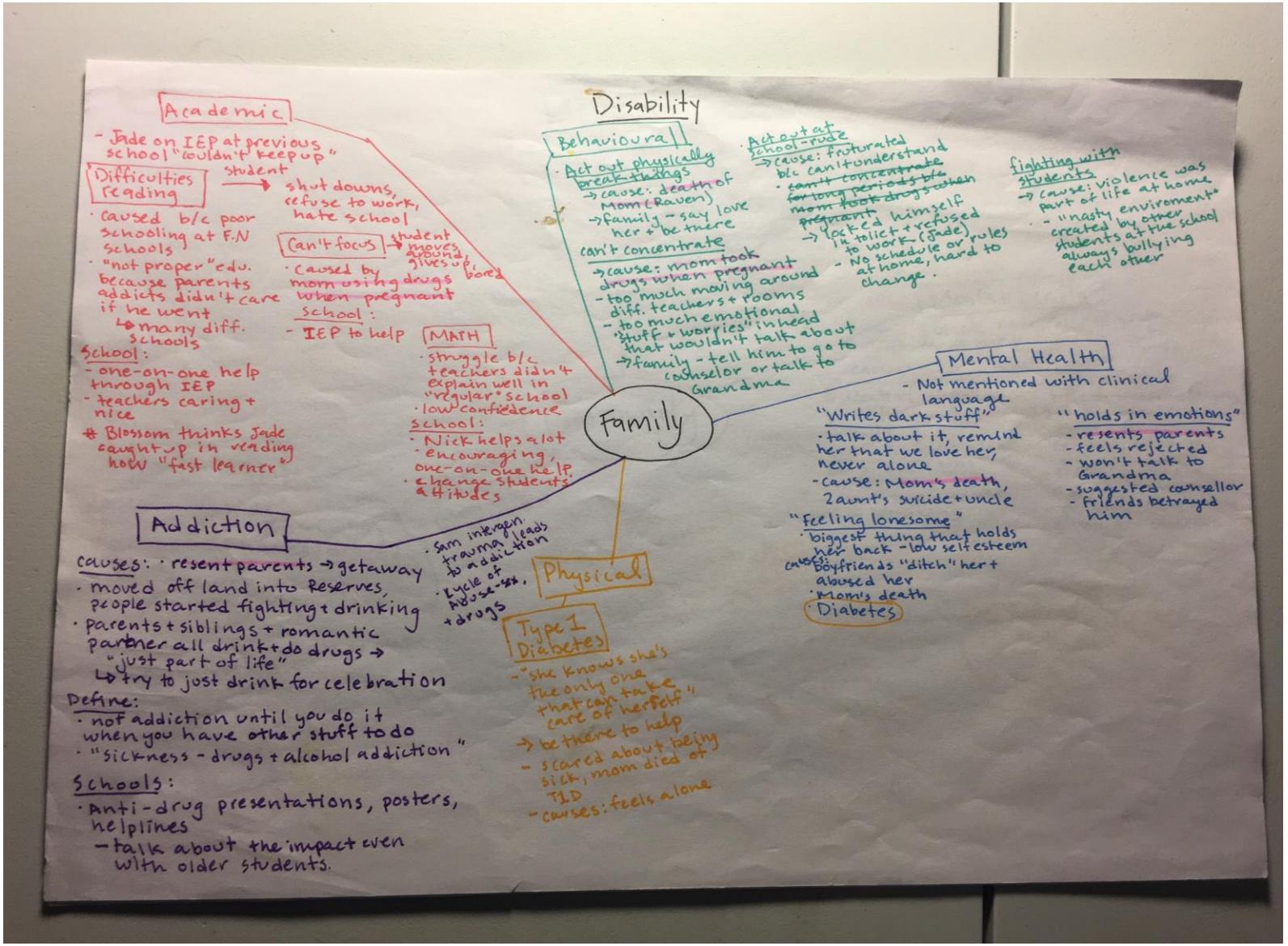
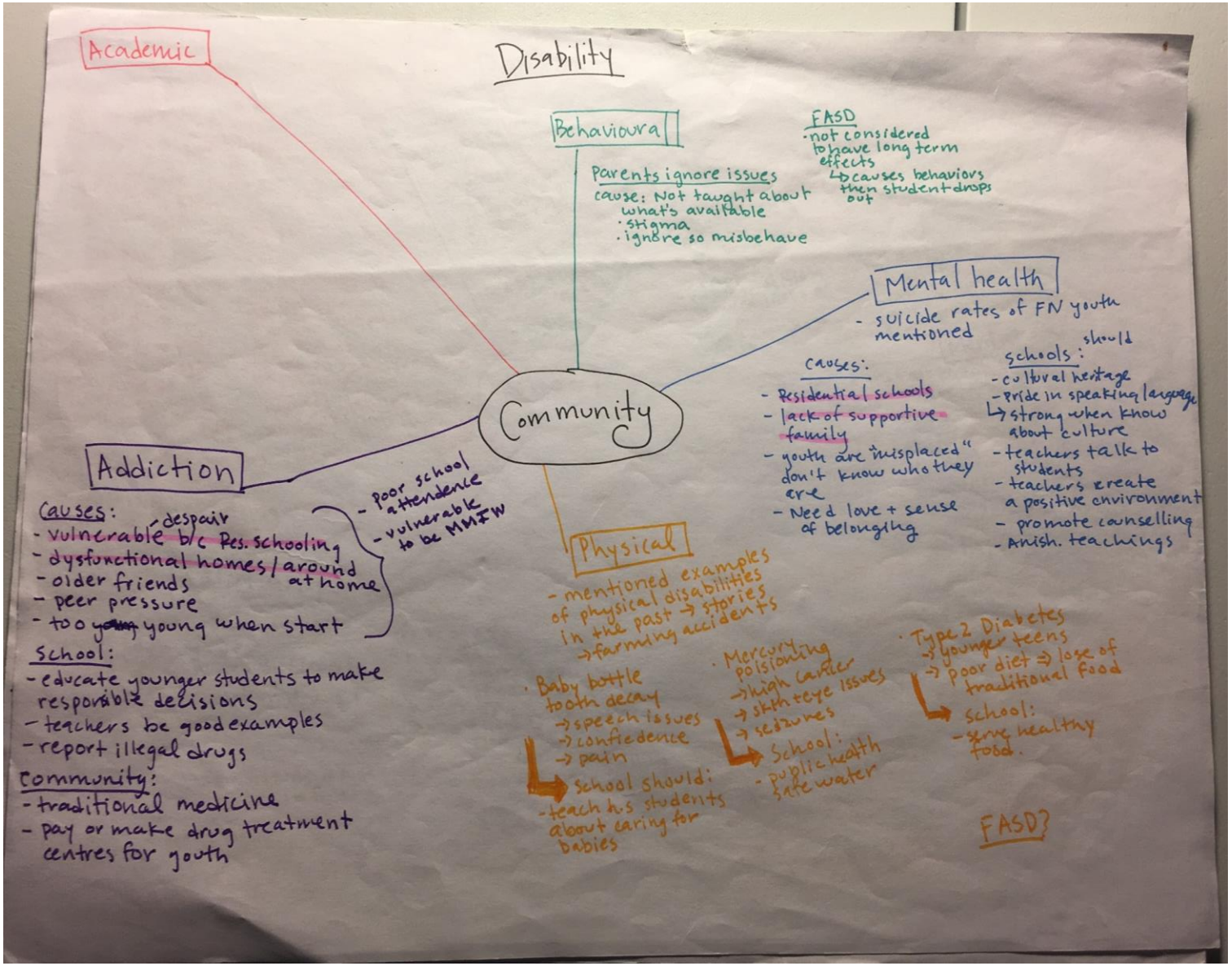
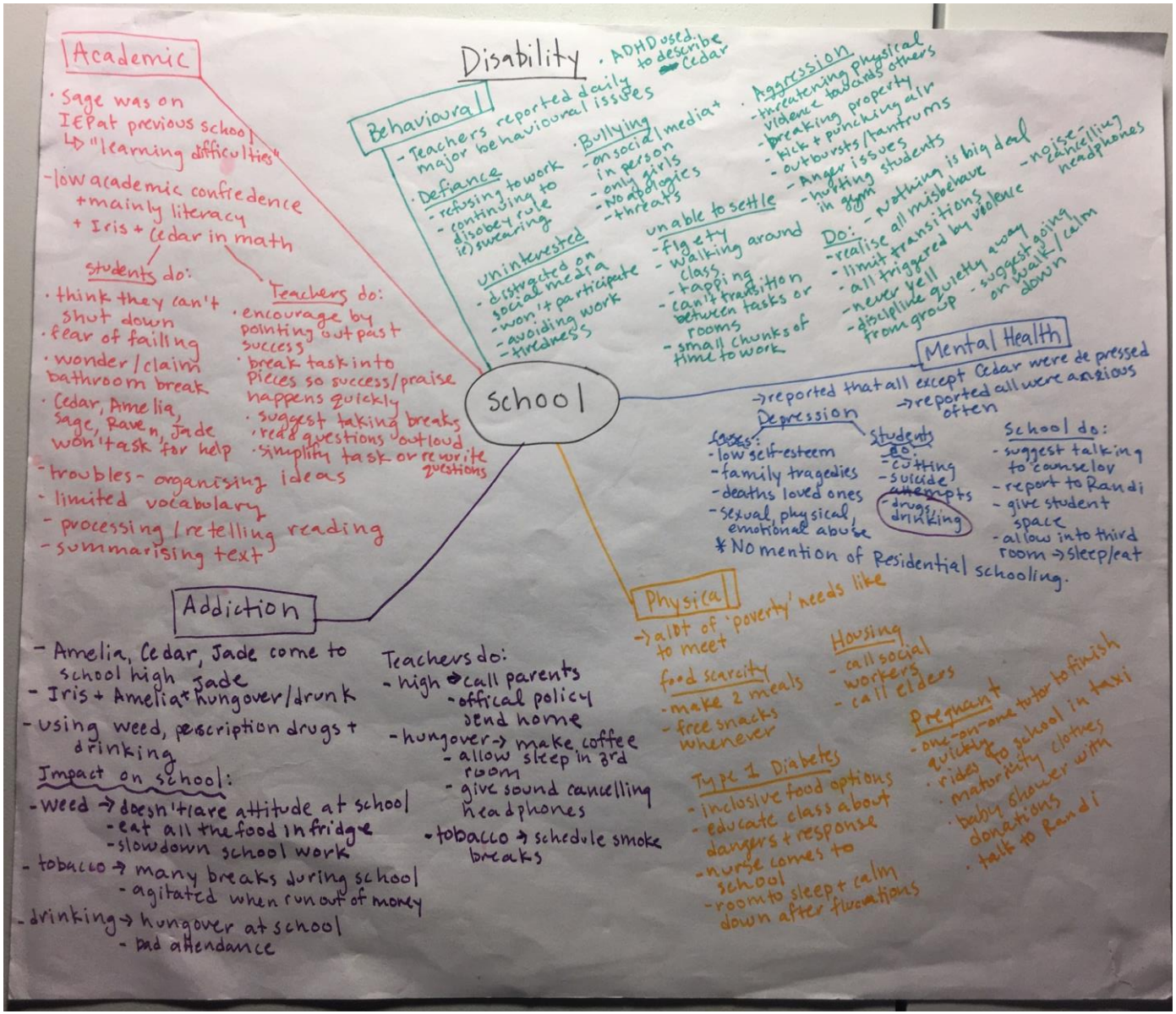

Academic
- Jade on IEP at previous school "couldn't keep up"
Difficulties reading
· caused b/c poor schooling at F.N schools
· "not proper" edu. because parents addicts didn't care if he went
↳ many diff. schools
School:
- one-on-one help through IEP
- teachers caring + nice
Blossom thinks Jade caught up in reading now "fast learner"
student
shut downs, refuse to work, hate school
Can't focus
· caused by mom using drugs when pregnant
student moves around, gives up, bored
School:
- IEP to help
MATH
· struggle b/c teachers didn't explain well in "regular" school
· low confidence
School:
· Nick helps a lot
· encouraging, one-on-one help
· change students attitudes
Disability
Behavioural
· Act out physically break things
→ cause: death of Mom (Raven)
→ family - say love her + be there
can't concentrate
→ cause: mom took drugs when pregnant
- too much moving around diff. teachers + rooms
- too much emotional "stuff + worries" in head that wouldn't talk about
→ family - tell him to go to counselor or talk to Grandma
· Act out at school - rude
→ cause: frustrated b/c can't understand
· can't concentrate for long periods b/c mom took drugs when pregnant
→ (acted himself in toilet + refused to work (Jade)
- No schedule or rules at home, hard to change.
fighting with students
→ cause: violence was part of life at home
- "nasty enviroment" created by other students at the school always bullying each other
Family
Mental Health
- Not mentioned with clinical language
"Writes dark stuff"
· talk about it, remind her that we love her, never alone
- cause: Mom's death, 2 aunt's suicide + uncle
"holds in emotions"
- resents parents
- feels rejected
- won't talk to Grandma
- suggested counsellor
- friends betrayed him
"Feeling lonesome"
· biggest thing that holds her back - low self esteem
cause: Boyfriends "ditch" her + abused her
· Mom's death
Diabetes
Addiction
causes: · resent parents → getaway
· moved off land into Reserves, people started fighting + drinking
· parents + siblings + romantic partner all drink + do drugs →
"just part of life"
↳ try to just drink for celebration
Define:
· not addiction until you do it when you have other stuff to do
· "sickness - drugs + alcohol addiction"
Schools:
· Anti-drug presentations, posters, helplines
- talk about the impact even with older students.
· Sam intergen. trauma leads to addiction
· Cycle of Abuse-sx, + drugs
Physical
Type 1 Diabetes
- "she knows she's the only one that can take care of herself"
→ be there to help
- scared about being sick, mom died of T1D
- causes: feels alone


Disability
Academic
Behavioura
Parents ignore issues
cause: Not taught about what's available
· stigma
· ignore so misbehave
FASD
· not considered to have long term effects
↳ causes behaviors then student drops out
Mental health
- suicide rates of FN youth mentioned
Community
causes:
- Residential schools
- lack of supportive family
- youth are "misplaced" don't know who they are
- Need love + sense of belonging
schools should:
- cultural heritage
- pride in speaking language
↳ strong when know about culture
- teachers talk to students
- teachers create a positive environment
- promote counselling
- Anish. teachings
Addiction
Causes:
- despair
- vulnerable b/c Res. schooling
- dysfunctional homes / around at home
- older friends
- peer pressure
- too young when start
- poor school attendence
- vulnerable to be MMIW
School:
- educate younger students to make responsible decisions
- teachers be good examples
- report illegal drugs
Community:
- traditional medicine
- pay or make drug treatment centres for youth
Physical
- mentioned examples of physical disabilities in the past → stories → farming accidents
· Baby bottle tooth decay
→ speech issues
→ confidence
→ pain
school should:
- teach hs students about caring for babies
· Mercury poisioning
→ high caution
→ skin/eye issues
→ seizures
School:
- public health safe water
· Type 2 Diabetes
→ younger teens
→ poor diet ⇒ lose of traditional food
school:
- serve healthy food.
FASD?


School
Academic
· Sage was on IEP at previous school ↳ "learning difficulties"
- low academic confidence + mainly literacy + Iris + Cedar in math
Students do:
· think they can't shut down
· fear of failing
· wonder / claim bathroom break
· Cedar, Amelia, Sage, Raven, Jade won't ask for help
Teachers do:
· encourage by pointing out past success
· break task into pieces so success/praise happens quickly
· suggest taking breaks
· read questions out loud
· simplify task or rewrite questions
- troubles - organising ideas
- limited vocabulary
- processing / retelling reading
- summarising text
Disability
· ADHD used to describe Cedar
Behavioural
- Teachers reported daily major behavioural issues
Defiance
- refusing to work
- continuing to disobey rule ie) swearing
Bullying
- on social media + in person
- only girls
- No apologies
- threats
Uninterested
- distracted on social media
- won't participate
- avoiding work
- tiredness
Unable to settle
- fidgety
- walking around class
- tapping
- can't transition between tasks or rooms
- small chunks of time to work
Aggression
- threatening physical violence towards others
- breaking property
- kick + punching air
- outbursts / tantrums
- Anger issues
- hurting students in gym
- nothing is big deal
- all misbehave
Do:
- realise all misbehave
- limit transitions
- all triggered by violence
- never yell
- discipline quietly away from group
- noise-cancelling headphones
- suggest going on walk / calm down
Mental Health
→ reported that all except Cedar were depressed
→ reported all were anxious often
Depression
Causes:
- low self-esteem
- family tragedies
- deaths loved ones
- sexual, physical, emotional abuse
Students do:
- cutting
- suicide attempts
- drugs, drinking
School do:
- suggest talking to counselor
- report to Randi
- give student space
- allow into third room → sleep/eat
* No mention of Residential schooling.
Addiction
- Amelia, Cedar, Jade come to school high
- Jade
- Iris + Amelia + hungover/drunk
- using weed, perscription drugs + drinking
Impact on school:
- weed → doesn't care attitude at school
- eat all the food in fridge
- slowdown school work
- tobacco → many breaks during school
- agitated when run out of money
- drinking → hungover at school
- bad attendance
Teachers do:
- high → call parents
- offical policy send home
- hungover → make coffee
- allow sleep in 3rd room
- give sound cancelling headphones
- tobacco → schedule smoke breaks
Physical
→ alot of 'poverty' needs like
Food scarcity
- make 2 meals
- free snacks whenever
Housing
- call social workers
- call elders
Type 1 Diabetes
- inclusive food options
- educate class about dangers + response
- nurse comes to school
- room to sleep + calm down after fluctuations
Pregnant
- one-on-one tutor to finish quickly
- rides to school in taxi
- maternity clothes
- baby shower with donations
- talk to Randi